Britain's Shaky Comeback—*Keith Hutchison*

THE Nation

January 13, 1951

The U.N.'s Grim Choice

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

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Taxes vs. Controls

BY CHARLES E. NOYES

*

The Legal Defense of Hated Men - - - *G. Louis Joughin*

A Program of Folly - - - - - - - - - *Willard Shelton*

Bargain Basement Point Four - - - - - - *Fritz Sternberg*

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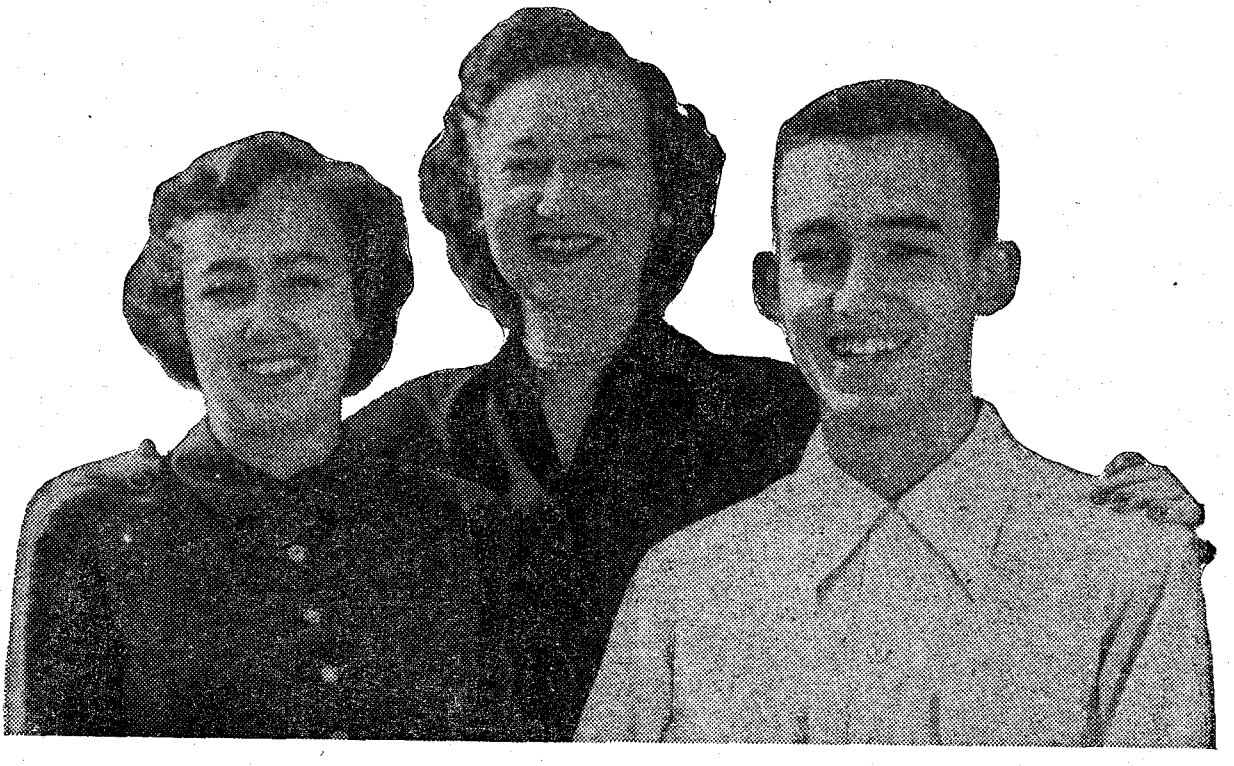

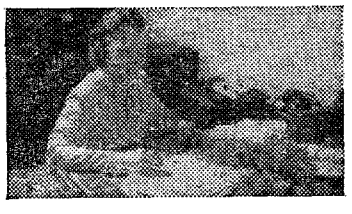

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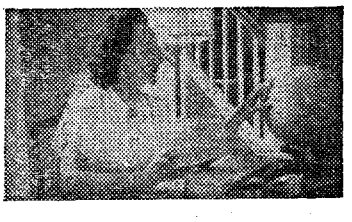

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 13, 1951 NUMBER 2

The Shape of Things

IF THERE IS ANY HONESTY LEFT IN THE Republican leadership in Congress, it will move the impeachment of the President of the United States. Within a week Representative Coudert in the lower house and Senator Taft in the upper chamber have accused the President of the grossest misuse of his office. To quote Taft, Mr. Truman "simply usurped authority—in violation of the laws and the Constitution—when he sent troops to Korea to carry out the resolution of the United Nations, in an undeclared war." Coudert has introduced a resolution to prohibit the President from sending any more troops abroad without the specific consent of Congress, and he too charged the Chief Executive with a usurpation of power. To bring a grave indictment of this sort in a period of national emergency is extremely drastic in any case; to do so without intending to take appropriate action is the depth of recklessness and should stamp Taft as a man without scruple. Even now, in the light of his past remarks, the speech reflects an alarming lack of integrity. It is true that the Senator questioned the constitutionality of the dispatch of troops to Korea last June, but why doesn't he now recall what else he said on that occasion? We quote: "Since I approve of the changes now made in our foreign policy, I approve of the general policies outlined in the President's statement." Indeed, the Senator went so far as to press for the dismissal of Acheson precisely because he had *not* previously indicated a willingness to defend Korea and had been "reversed by his superiors." We intend, in subsequent issues, to examine the legal aspects of the Republican argument, but for the moment we merely remind the G. O. P. leaders of the statement of their own Harold Stassen that "Mr. Truman's action is in accordance with the United Nations Charter," which Stassen helped to frame and which the Senate of the United States, Taft included, enacted into the law of the land.

*

THE ALTERNATIVE POLICIES URGED BY MR. Taft are a litter of curiously mixed ancestry. They owe something to Mr. Hoover, although the Senator did not go all the way with the ex-President in "retreatism" but recognized that the Atlantic Pact commits us to sending arms to our allies and declaring war if they are attacked by Russia. Taft found no "conclusive evidence that [the Russians] expect to start a war with the United States" or to attack Western Europe directly. If, however, they were bent on aggression, he agreed with Walter Lippmann that they would move before the proposed European army under American leadership had become an effective force: in fact, he implied that the very organization of such an army was dangerously provocative. On the other hand, following Senator Knowland and the China lobby, Taft said that we "might as well have a declared war" in China and advocated assistance to Chiang Kai-shek short of the provision of troops to operate on the Chinese mainland. In general, the Senator agreed that "America must be the leader in the battle to prevent the spread of communism" but asserted that "our first consideration must be the defense of America" and that to this end we should rely mainly on sea-air power and not attempt to build up a great land army. Any operations we undertook abroad should therefore be limited to the defense of useful bases for our naval and air forces, and we should make no commitment to defend continental Europe except by threatening to bomb Russia and any industries in countries overrun by Russia. It is questionable whether this strategy, which implies the expendability of Europe, is compatible with "world leadership." For our part, we find "General" Taft irresistibly reminiscent of the Duke of Plaza-Toro, who "when there was any fighting . . . led his soldiers from behind; he found it less exciting."

*

DICTATOR FRANCO, BOLSTERED BY THE diplomatic and financial support received from this country, is now trying hard to push his way into the Atlantic coalition. In this effort he seems able to count on the help of influential Americans. United States military authorities, according to Sam Pope Brewer, New York *Times* correspondent in Madrid, are reported to have been making "cautious soundings" to find out whether Spain would furnish an army corps of 60,000 men for Western Europe's cooperative defense system if the United States agreed to supply the arms. In his excellent series on Spain, concluded in this issue, Basil

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Davidson has demonstrated that it would take several years and mountainous expenditure to make Franco's army strong and efficient in the purely technical sense, leaving aside all questions of morale and loyalty. From a political point of view, as Mr. Davidson has observed, "to fight for Spain today is to fight for Franco; and Franco's regime has certainly failed to capture the loyalty of more than a small minority of the Spanish people." We have received many reports from inside Spain telling of the outbursts of anti-American feeling stirred up by the latest pro-Franco moves of our government. That feeling would become more intense should we enter into an outright Spanish alliance, but fantastic though it may sound, there is talk, according to Mr. Brewer, that the United States might "be willing to make a separate alliance with Spain outside the Atlantic Pact" if the other Atlantic nations object to Spain's inclusion in the coalition.

*

IBN SAUD, THE AGED ABSOLUTE MONARCH of Saudi Arabia, has a veritable Aladdin's lamp in Aramco, the American corporation which has so successfully developed the petroleum deposits of his desert kingdom. For the past ten years he has been enjoying a rapidly mounting income from the 34 cents royalty which he collects on every barrel of oil produced. However, noting the vast profits earned by the company, which is owned by Standard Oil of California, the Texas Corporation, Standard Oil of New Jersey, and Socony-Vacuum, he decided his cut should be bigger and rubbed the lamp again. Quoting the precedent of a Venezuelan agreement with a Standard Oil of New Jersey subsidiary, he told Aramco that it must pay a 50 per cent income tax. The company protested, claiming that its concession, effective until 1993, exempted it from all taxes, but after negotiations agreed to pay up to 50 per cent of its net earnings in income tax and to continue its royalty payment, obtaining in return more favorable exchange arrangements. Under the new agreement which is retroactive to January 1, 1950, Ibn Saud will receive $90,000,000 to $94,000,000 for last year—a 50 per cent increase—and in 1951 his take is expected to be well in excess of $100,000,000. Nevertheless, costs in the Saudi Arabian oilfields are so low that Aramco will continue to secure a very handsome return on its investment. We shed no tears for its shareholders, but we are concerned about the flow of such immense sums to the lord of a primitive kingdom who is a law unto himself. Properly invested, this money might do wonders in improving the health of the disease-ridden Arabs and in raising their social, education, and economic standards, and perhaps some of it will be employed for such purposes. But there is reason to fear that the bulk of it will be used to strengthen the Saudi Arabian army, a step which might well add to the unrest of the Middle East.

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THE FIRST RUMBLINGS OF TROUBLE HAVE been noted in the Chinatowns of the West Coast. From San Francisco, with a Chinese population of 20,000, have come reports of vicious "anti-Chinese" remarks overheard in shops and restaurants. In Los Angeles, Chinese merchants say that orders began to be canceled when the Chinese Reds marched into North Korea. Restaurant and cafe owners who have summoned the police to oust noisy patrons find themselves faced with the ingenious defense that the drunks were merely "beating up these Chinese Commies." It would be a grave mistake for Chinese Americans to dismiss the current incidents as insignificant or to rely upon the assurances of the California Defense and Security Corps that they need not fear anti-Chinese feeling. Japanese Americans, after being given similar assurances by responsible California officials in 1942, found themselves in relocation centers. Nor should Chinese Americans put their trust in political orthodoxy. Some of their leaders, as a measure of security, are saying that all West Coast Chinese are ardent supporters of Chiang Kai-shek, but the fact is that most California Chinese are sympathetic to the new regime in China, as they have every right to be. This does not mean, of course, that they condone Chinese aggression in Korea; much less does it imply—and this is the real point—subversive intentions. The problem of the Chinese Americans is simply a special version of a larger problem now faced by many Americans: are they to be castigated as "disloyal" simply because they may object to certain phases of American foreign policy in the Far East?

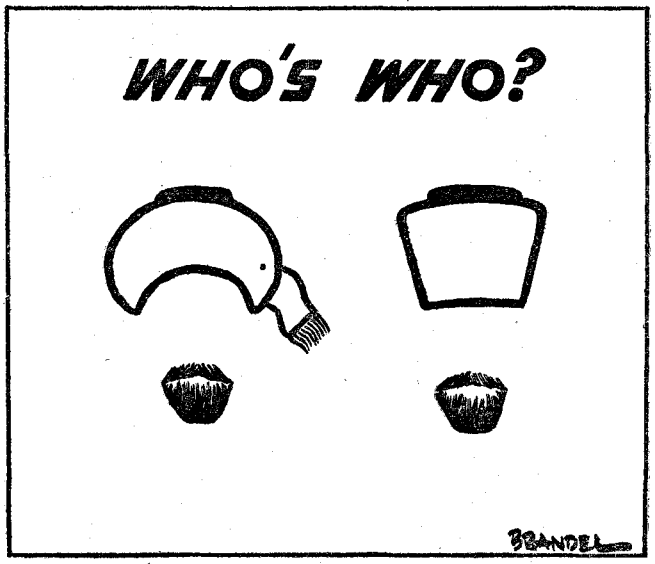
*

LARGE-SCALE EMPLOYERS OF FARM LABOR have never been noted for their esprit de corps—witness the mean trick played by the Hawaiian planters on their West Coast colleagues, who for some months have been seeking to recruit 10,000 workers in the islands for employment in California. To nip this movement in the bud, the Hawaiian Pineapple Company has just brought a delegation of island workers to California so that they may see, after a tour of California farms, that they are "better off in the islands." Just to rub it in, the island delegates have been encouraged to speak loftily of the superiority of working conditions in Hawaii—vacations with pay, sick leave with pay, group insurance, group retirement plans, dispensary services, dances, parties, and sports programs. Enjoying none of these advantages, California farm workers will doubtless be interested to learn that services of this type can be provided in an offshore possession despite its greater distance from primary markets and its higher production costs. What the Hawaiian delegates were not encouraged to talk about was the fact that sugar and pineapple workers are organized in Hawaii, thanks largely to the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

WHILE IT IS OBVIOUS THAT SOME KIND OF supervision must be maintained over the conduct of businesses connected with the public interest, Edward T. McCaffrey, License Commissioner of New York City, recently decided that his duties extended beyond those usually associated with his office and included the right to censor motion pictures which to him seem "blasphemous." In threatening revocation of the license of the theater showing Roberto Rossellini's short feature "The Miracle," the Commissioner declared in effect that the people of the city might see only those productions that accorded with his personal taste. The picture had been passed by the customs authorities and the New York State Department of Education. It received a mixed reaction from New York film critics but was good enough to be selected as one of the best films of the year. Clearly there was disagreement between the Commissioner and those who seem somewhat better qualified to judge on its merits, but he is entitled to his personal opinion. Fortunately, the courts have now decided that he may not inflict his opinions on the city, and we hope the administrative bodies involved will show the same kind of courage in dealing with the threat implied in Cardinal Spellman's call to all Catholics to boycott any theater showing the film.

*

HARDLY NOTICED IN THE MOUNTING FLOOD of loyalty-oath hysteria was the action of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, which voted several weeks ago to oppose loyalty oaths for New York state attorneys. Against the protests of some of its members, who maintained that lawyers could not duck responsibility by arguing that the bar could police itself, the association sharply rejected the proposed purity test. With good sense and calm judgment its Committee on Law Reform said that the oath requirement was unnecessary because adequate safeguards against disloyalty now exist and because such an oath might restrict the freedom



[For answer see page 25]

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of the bar in representing unpopular causes. In this season of craven acceptance of the gospel according to Joe McCarthy, the lawyers of New York have lived up to the best traditions of their profession.

The Slim Chance

NEGOTIATIONS on the projected Big Four talks illustrate perfectly the spirit of negativism in which world diplomacy is now conducted. Plainly alarmed at the possibility of a rearmed Western Germany, the Russians as long ago as November 3 proposed a meeting of the foreign ministers of Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union to discuss that particular question. Seven weeks later the Western powers replied with a counter-proposal that the conference be broadened to include all matters now in controversy. Neither offer, it seems to us, can be regarded as quite realistic: on the one hand, the question of German militarization, far from lending itself to isolated treatment, goes to the heart of the cold war, while, on the other hand, Russia would scarcely consent to a discussion of the Far East without the participation of Peking.

The Soviet reply, on January 1, was cagy in the extreme and phrased with the truculence that has become almost a matter of protocol in East-West diplomacy. Nevertheless, it opened the door just a trifle wider, offering to discuss "other questions also, pertaining to Germany." The important thing is not the degree to which this is an improvement on the original proposal but the direction in which it moves. And here, we believe Secretary of State Acheson has sounded too dismal, and certainly too negative, a note. The reply, he said, was unsatisfactory; the talks must embrace all the "causes of recent international tension throughout the world."

We fully appreciate Mr. Acheson's position, which is that of a man driven and hounded by conscienceless politicians whose conduct is little short of national sabotage. But whether his reaction was a futile attempt to appease his Congressional foes or the product of an understandable suspicion of the Russian move, it seems to us a great deal less than what the situation demands.

The argument against a Big Four meeting of the scope suggested by the Russians is twofold. Doomed to fail, the conference would be made to serve the purposes of Soviet propaganda; and, second, its purpose is only to delay the achievement of Western European unity. But obviously our refusal even to meet with the Russians will do more to lower our prestige in a world that is frantically seeking a ray of hope than any diatribe the Soviet Foreign Minister might deliver over a conference table. As for the second line of argument—and there is no doubt the Russians do want desperately to head off a remilitarized Germany—that very objective can and should be turned to good account.

The tone of the Russian warning on this score—that the Soviet Union "will not tolerate" the rearming of Western Germany—is a measure of the alarm in the Kremlin over such a prospect. So is the bare fact that on no other subject has Stalin taken the initiative in calling for Big Four discussion. He can achieve his purpose on this point either by threat or by negotiation. The threat has already been made, without effect, and if it were to be repeated, he would not need a conference for the purpose. But negotiation, the only alternative short of war, implies a quid pro quo, and in this possibility appears the chance, however slim, of a break in the storm clouds. In this particular bargaining, moreover, the diplomatic advantage lies with us. For while a demilitarized Germany is an absolute essential to the Russians now, it is, in the long run, equally essential to the peace of the Western powers. Ideally a united but neutral and disarmed Germany, acting as a buffer in Central Europe, would be a boon to both sides, and indeed would seem to be one of the few purposes the former allies still have in common.

Out of this common objective, plus the urgency of the Soviet desire, there might well emerge, if not a solid understanding, perhaps the suggestion of a modus vivendi or, at least, the promise of broader talks to come. Should the conference fail, we shall certainly be no worse off than we are. On the contrary, we shall have demonstrated to a wavering world our good faith and will to peace. As for the unity of Western Europe, it can only be promoted by the intransigence of Russia—and undermined by the intransigence of the United States.

A Program of Folly

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, January 8

IT IS in the halls of Congress and among the people that "the great debate" on foreign policy launched by Mr. Hoover's speech will eventually be resolved, but President Truman, as was his duty, set forth in his State of the Union message the principles that he feels must prevail if the Western alliance is to endure. Touching only by indirection upon one of the major issues which now exacerbate relations between the United States and even its closest allies, he paid tribute to U. N. troops in Korea and emphasized the "tremendous significance" of the fact that the U. N. was fighting "against aggression." This expression of appreciation for the cooperation in Korea did not deny the existence of sharp differences of opinion about the Korean affair between American policy-makers and those of other nations—both our allies and the Asian nations which want to remain neutral in the struggle between East and

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West. The consequences can be serious if our allies fail to acknowledge the high principles that motivated the United States in committing its prestige and the lives of its young men to defend the Republic of Korea against naked aggression from the North. We, for our part, must realize the danger of persisting in policies toward Communist China that many other nations will not accept.

Mr. Truman was on surest ground in his warnings against the neo-isolationism of Hoover and Taft. He mentioned neither man by name, nor did he use the word "isolationist," but he bluntly described the situation we would face if in consequence of Hoover-Taft doubts about the feasibility of a ground defense of Western Europe we let the industrial and man-power potentials of the Continent fall into Russian hands; we would then, he said, confront "military forces which we could never hope to equal."

This is precisely what Hoover and Taft are willing to risk. They apparently believe that sea and air power can defend us even if Europe falls and we are isolated from our allies. Strategically this idea is entirely false, and great damage has been done the Atlantic community by the upsurge of American isolationism. Europe can fall into the Soviet grip through domestic despair as well as through foreign invasion. Those critics of the people of Europe who demand "equal sacrifices" of them without recognizing that their living standards already are far below ours were at least partly answered by Mr. Truman's statement that our North Atlantic partners are even now engaged in "building armies bigger than our own."

The unhappy change in climate which has gripped the world is made clear by a comparison of Mr. Truman's speech today with his message of 1949 or even of last January. In those messages the emphasis was on the ordinary concerns of a nation which, though the world was even then in danger, seemed to have time to put its house in order. This year the President necessarily devoted himself to outlining the nature and scope of an unprecedented diplomatic and military crisis. He called again for "improvement" of our labor laws, for aid to schools, for "insurance against the high costs of modern medical care," but each of his requests had to be limited by the requirements of mobilization.

There is no likelihood that Congress will heed these renewed pleas for Fair Deal measures, for conservatives who oppose them in less critical times now have the added excuse that we must cut down on "unessential spending." As the people's representatives engage in the debate on foreign policy, however, they would be well advised to remember that a democracy does not fight by arms alone and that its strength depends in equal measure on the steadily expanding application of its basic ideals.

January 4

THE Eighty-second Congress might have enjoyed itself if instead of meeting yesterday in its freshly decorated chambers on Capitol Hill it had attended the press conference held at about the same time by Charles E. Wilson, chairman of the Office of Defense Mobilization. Its conservative majority would have liked the way Wilson is operating and the cheerful indications that although we belabor our allies for their reluctance to resume austerity and build more guns, we are planning both guns and butter for ourselves. It would have been pleased to find not a single prominent labor man in the mobilization setup; if Wilson intends to have labor participate in planning and procuring the tools for democracy's defense, he did not say so.

I always feel that men taking on difficult government jobs should not be criticized before they have had a chance to learn the dimensions of their assignment. Wilson has been in office only two weeks, and his is a thankless task, with all the risks of Congressional and journalistic abuse. He had served the nation capably during World War II as a leading figure in the War Production Board and might have pleaded past performance as an excuse for refusing the post. It will be a grave mistake, however, to give labor no share in planning and executing our mobilization. There will be waste, confusion, and delay if the program is run exclusively by industrialists, bankers, and the military. Wilson himself, who has obtained a Presidential order reshaping the mobilization office to his heart's desire, is a retired corporation executive. William H. Harrison, the head of the new Defense Production Administration, responsible to Wilson, is a corporation executive on leave of absence. Wilson's special aides are Sidney Weinberg, a banker, and Lucius Clay, a retired general.

When Wilson was asked at his press conference whether he contemplated naming any labor spokesmen to high posts in his organization, he replied that a chart already distributed to reporters—with no labor advisers listed—showed what the setup was. Later he was asked specifically whether he planned to have any labor leaders directly connected with either his office or Harrison's DPA. He replied, "I'm not prepared to answer that today." Then he added, "Obviously, as mobilization plans jell, we will ask and use advisers from all segments of the nation."

It seems appropriate to recall that when Great Britain in 1940 faced Germany and Italy in a moment of terrible danger, labor leaders were given responsible positions in the British Cabinet. And they were the men who worked most effectively on such issues as longer hours in

Answer to Who's Who?—The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem; King Abdullah of Jordan.

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mines and factories, the freezing of workers in essential jobs, the development of a wage-stabilization program. Their participation gave the workers a sense of managing their own affairs and an assurance that there would be equality of sacrifice.

Our own mobilization problems can hardly be handled without the cooperation of labor. For one thing, wage-stabilization programs must be hammered out in consultation with labor or they will be meaningless. The existing tripartite Wage Stabilization Board has plans and programs, but it is too far down the line from Wilson. Furthermore, the question of how people shall be distributed between the armed forces and essential military and civil production is a tougher one today than how to obtain the raw materials of production. We have no millions of unemployed at present as we had in 1940, no reservoir of man-power, ample for the demands of both the armed services and the tank factories. A program which rejects the expert help of union leaders who are close to the workers is a program of folly.

Stuart Symington's National Security Resources Board still has a group of labor advisers, but Symington has been superseded by Wilson as mobilization czar. Plans to create another industry-labor advisory group in the Department of Commerce became meaningless when Harrison was shifted out of Commerce into the separate Defense Production Administration.

A program to provide "guns and butter, too," revealed both in Wilson's conference and in a Pentagon briefing by John D. Small, head of the Munitions Board, may make sense if considered strictly in the light of our own problems. Wilson's and Small's view is that we should expand production swiftly, thus leaving more for civilians, rather than divide a static amount between civilian and military claims. There is no reason to deprive civilians of pots and pans today, Small said, when by reactivating World War II production facilities we can be assured of enough aluminum for military aircraft as soon as the motors are built. The idea that Americans who intend to enjoy "guns and butter, too" might decently hesitate to criticize Europeans who object to having their living standards sharply cut to support rearmament apparently did not occur to Herbert Hoover when he lectured the Europeans on their deficiencies.

AS TO the Eighty-second Congress itself, the most striking thing about its first session yesterday was the ease with which the strengthened coalition of conservatives took control.

Senator McFarland of Arizona had been elected Democratic floor leader in a party caucus, the liberals supporting Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming having received no help from the White House. The caucus was warned by Senator Douglas of Illinois that the Democratic Party could not exist nationally except as a liberal party and that McFarland's election would be interpreted as a step toward conservatism, but word spread that Mr. Truman had "no objection" to the Arizona Senator, and the vote was thirty to nineteen against O'Mahoney. The White House was equally inactive in resisting a change in the House rules which restored to the Rules Committee power to block all legislation of which it disapproves. For twelve years this committee has been controlled by a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats. Two years ago, after Truman's election victory, its powers were cut down to size. When conservatives tried to upset the change last January, Mr. Truman twice spoke out against their plans, and Speaker Sam Rayburn left the rostrum to lead the floor fight. But Rayburn had nothing to say this year, and neither did the President. Ninety-two Democrats—about 40 per cent of the strength of what is nominally the majority party—joined the Republicans to overturn the 1949 reform.

The U. N.'s Grim Choice

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, January 6

AFTER a two weeks' recess the United Nations met again to deal with the Korean situation, which in the interval had become infinitely worse. The atmosphere in the almost deserted corridors and anterooms of the old quarters at Lake Success, where books, files, and typewriters were piled for transportation to the new building in Manhattan, was like that of a burning house from which the residents were fleeing. But in the winter calm of snowy Norway, a perfect setting for New Year's Eve, the imperturbable Secretary General Lie continued to issue reassuring communiqués. They seemed pathetically unreal with Seoul about to fall and the U. N. forces preparing to quit Inchon by sea.

The members of the First Committee, which like the Security Council still meets at Lake Success, are oppressed by the thought that the next few days will be decisive ones. The course of events in Asia is scarcely more ominous than developments in Europe, where Russia's reply to the communications of the United States, Great Britain, and France concerning a Big Four conference and the rearmament of Germany is being studied. While Washington has described the Soviet note as "disappointing," Lake Success is aware that London and Paris see in it a possible basis for negotiations. Anxious not to spoil this last chance to ease the tension between East and West, the First Committee was in no mood to "get tough" with China. The American members found the representatives of the twelve-nation Asian-Arab "peace coalition" and the British Commonwealth interested not in sanctions against Peking but in making a new attempt to bring about a cease-fire in Korea.

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It was clear from the beginning, as I wrote when the committee of three was first formed to work for a cease-fire, that President Entezam and his two associates, Sir Benegal N. Rau of India and Mr. Pearson of Canada, had been given instructions "without negotiable content." This fact was emphasized at the Wednesday session of the First Committee when the Norwegian delegate, Arne Sunde, asked for some clarification from the Korean committee as to whether in the course of its work it had "given any consideration to the problems of what principles would have to be laid down as a basis for possible negotiations subsequent to the envisaged establishment of a cease-fire." To demand that a victorious Chinese army cease hostilities and at the same time to refuse to consider the admission of Communist China to the U. N. a possible subject of negotiation was as devoid of sense as Mr. Austin's earlier suggestion that the invitation to the Chinese to appear before the Security Council be labeled a "summons."

The majority on the First Committee are opposed to playing the role of the strong man without real strength. When the committee so lightly voted for the resolution authorizing the crossing of the Thirty-eighth Parallel, I said to the head of a Latin American delegation, "This is the start of the United Nations Vladivostok express; but don't forget that the fastest trains are sometimes wrecked." At that time the U. N. forces were sweeping northward, and people laughed at such forebodings. Everyone shared the optimism manifested by General MacArthur at his meeting with President Truman on Wake Island.

Yet the warnings that China might act were already distinct enough to be heard by those who chose to listen. During the first phase of the war Peking had limited itself to expressing sympathy with the North Koreans over the radio and had been so diplomatic that in some international Communist circles it had been accused of abandoning them to their fate. As soon as Seoul was retaken, however, Mao warned in no uncertain terms that crossing the Thirty-eighth Parallel would loose the avalanche now pushing inexorably toward Pusan.

THE First Committee is not disposed to repeat its errors. Its dominant elements now favor looking the facts in the face and admitting that the U. N. has only two alternatives: either negotiate, that is, accept the political conditions attached by Peking to a military truce, or evacuate Korea in order to be in a position to reconsider the whole Far Eastern question. Those delegates who do not want to declare Communist China an aggressor without knowing what forces the United Nations can call on —why brandish a gun for which you have no powder and shot?—but who, on the other hand, do not want to recognize the use of force as a means of obtaining political advantages would prefer evacuation to an armistice.

On Friday the representative of Israel, Abba Eban, tried to give "negotiable content" to the task of the cease-fire committee. Without formally offering a resolution he outlined a plan to be carried out in seven stages, starting with an immediate cease-fire and ending with "consideration . . . as a matter of urgency of all questions affecting the relations of the government of the People's Republic of China with the United Nations." In London the conference of British Commonwealth Prime Ministers, mainly on the initiative of Nehru, took a bolder step forward and discussed directly the question of the admission of Communist China into the United Nations. Nehru's position was more or less the same as that of the Polish representative on the First Committee, Dr. Katz-Suchy, who pointed out yesterday that there had never been a cease-fire anywhere without some preliminary basis of agreement. The United States delegation, however, was clearly opposed to any negotiation, whether of the kind suggested by Mr. Eban or that considered in London, preferring to concede the loss of Korea and to hold Formosa and Japan as the last bastions of defense against Communist expansion in East Asia.

Blocking the efforts of Mr. Eban and others to fill the U. N.'s cease-fire resolution with some "negotiable content," the United States took action that could only fill it with "explosive content." In New York and in the capitals of the world all members of the U. N., except of course the Soviet bloc, were officially notified that if the U. N. failed to denounce Communist China as an aggressor, the United States might cease to interest itself in the organization. This has greatly complicated the situation, and when the First Committee reconvenes on Monday, the debate promises to be even more heated than before. Meanwhile it is feared that military events may make the whole past week's discussion purely academic.

The Korean débâcle should stimulate a reexamination of the theory of "peace through strength"—rather than through negotiation—on which the Western Allies have based their foreign policy. This theory overlooks the "intermediary period." It assumes that the enemy will wait quietly while the West builds up its military power to the point where it can talk as equal to equal. In the case of Korea the illusion prevailed until a few days ago that a stalemate would develop at or somewhere below the Thirty-eighth Parallel which would permit the United States to discuss the situation with Peking from a position of strength. The Chinese advance, however, deflated that expectation.

The lesson of Korea is applicable to Europe. The United States calculates that with its fantastic productive capacity and technical skill it can in two or three years' time create such an imposing war machine that it can negotiate with Russia from strength. The flaw in this

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theory is that it fails to take account of what may happen in the meantime. A wiser course would be to negotiate now, when Russia's reply to the Western powers concerning a conference of the Big Four offers both an opportunity and a challenge to the talents and resources of Western diplomacy. Korea may be a bitter pill to swallow, but compared with Germany it is a secondary issue. Whether we shall have peace or a third world war hinges on an agreement regarding the rearmament of Germany.

Taxes Versus Controls

BY CHARLES E. NOYES

TAX laws now on the books will bring in more dollars per year than ever before in the history of the federal government, although these taxes will take a smaller proportion of the national income than all taxes did in World War II. The Eighty-second Congress will undoubtedly increase the burden. Even so, it is doubtful whether taxes will be as high as they should be. Nothing short of a full pay-as-you-go program can provide a sound basis for financing military production, foreign aid, and essential domestic government services. The alternative is more inflation, now or later.

Prices can be kept in check for a time by tight controls; controls over shortage items and scarce materials will certainly be needed. However, our problem this time is to prepare not only for a present emergency but also for the possibility that we may have to maintain a large military establishment for many years. Our goal must be the fastest possible expansion of total production, military and civilian combined. Controls are primarily suited to diverting man-power and materials from one kind of production to another. That will be necessary to some extent, but it should never be forgotten that controls tend to limit over-all expansion, and the longer the emergency, the less desirable they are.

A properly planned tax structure can minimize the need for controls. For this purpose both the whole burden and the selective impact are important. Even though high taxes are in general deflationary, the wrong kinds of taxes can have an inflationary effect, especially if they encourage waste and extravagance.

The first objective, of course, is to avoid the "inflationary gap" created by deficit financing. The relationship between prices and the total volume of money and credit is perhaps not quite so automatic as the classical economists once thought, but it is clearly unhealthy for people to have a lot more money than there are goods and services to spend the money for. Saving can take care of some of the difference—but above-normal personal saving in World War II was one of the important causes of the inflation which came afterward.

It must always be remembered that in the economic sense a military program must be paid for out of current income. That is neither a pious hope nor a moral axiom: it is a truism. The goods and services which make up military production obviously have to be subtracted from the total which might otherwise be available for private consumers at the time they are produced. They cannot be borrowed from the future, and the money to pay for them ought not to be.

If we could increase total United States production as fast as we increase military production, we should not need to curtail the present standard of living, although shortages of materials and machines will make important changes in the kinds of goods and services which can be furnished to private consumers. We might make up in other ways for a decrease in the number of new automobiles and television sets. We shall not succeed in doing so unless the economy is left as free as possible to expand in other directions.

HOWEVER, even if we managed to provide for most of the military program through increased total production, and to pay for it out of current taxes, there is at present no conceivable way in which we could apportion the cost so that every family would remain relatively as well off as it is today. Actually, even in war time it is neither fair nor desirable to freeze the status quo completely. Whether we like it or not, patriotism is not enough to guarantee harder work and greater efficiency. Both business and labor will produce more if given reasonable incentives, and that means that some will prosper at the expense of others. Unless we resort to something close to slave labor, we must expect that the workers who put in long hours in war plants will make more than they would if they stayed in their present jobs, and it would scarcely be fair to tax them more heavily than others. Conversely, with higher taxes for everybody, most of those who do remain in their

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present jobs—even if they have no choice in the matter—will be worse off than they are now.

Moreover, the progressive principle of taxation in accordance with ability to pay is only partly appropriate when the government must devote a large part of the national income to preparing for war. If taxes are used for the deliberate purpose of limiting private consumption, they must bear heavily on the middle and lower income groups who do most of the consuming. That means raising income taxes substantially in the middle and lower brackets.

In addition, taxes should be used selectively to discourage particular kinds of consumption, and also to discourage black markets when price controls are imposed. For example, if production of television sets and automobiles is cut by 50 per cent, it would be much better to hold down the demand for those which are produced by imposing an excise tax of 50 or even 100 per cent than to let black marketeers collect the same margin over official ceiling prices. On the other hand, it would certainly not be fair to put a high sales tax on things like meat and essential clothing, letting the wealthy buy all they wanted while the poor went without. Even in the case of automobiles it might be desirable to remit part of the tax for those who could show real need for a new car.

Under the conditions in prospect a good argument can be made for a general manufacturers' sales tax on items other than food, clothing, and medical supplies. Such a tax has always been opposed in normal times because it does bear most heavily on those who can least afford to pay it. But it is a comparatively easy way to raise a lot of money, and it has some advantages over the very considerable rise in personal-income tax rates which would be required to raise as much. Psychologically, it does not seem as painful to pay 10 per cent more for what you buy as to have another 10 per cent of your wages taken away, and the sales tax does leave people a choice of doing without some of the things subject to the tax. But it is justifiable only when a national emergency makes it necessary to cut the standard of living of many people; the great danger is that such a tax might be retained when we are again in a position to raise the standard of living of those in the lower income groups.

It is also relatively painless politically to increase corporation taxes, despite the yelps from some heavy campaign contributors. The excess-profits tax was finally enacted by comfortable margins in both houses of Congress, even though some opponents put forward the strange notion that Republican gains in November constituted a mandate against a form of tax which the overwhelming majority of Republican Congressmen had already approved in principle when they voted for the Revenue Act of 1950 last summer. Nevertheless, amid the smoke of the Congressional hearings on the excess-profits tax there were some sound arguments to the effect that such a tax is difficult to administer fairly—the Treasury hopes to clean up the remaining World War II cases by the end of 1952—and unduly burdensome to smaller, growing companies. On the other hand, the proposed alternative of increasing the tax rate on all corporations to 55 per cent or more would be manifestly unfair to companies whose production and profits will be curtailed by the military program anyway.

THE technicalities of the excess-profits tax are much too complicated to be explained in a brief article. However, it is important to understand why such a tax is potentially inflationary, and why it is just as well that Congress did not reimpose the World War II rates. The theory of an excess-profits tax is simple enough: a corporation is assumed to have a "normal" profit, established in a base period, on which it pays a normal tax. Any profit above that is presumed to result directly or indirectly from the emergency; so the "excess" is taxed at a higher rate. During World War II the maximum combined rate was 95 per cent. This was intended to "take the profits out of war." Unfortunately, it also meant that corporations subject to this rate had practically no monetary incentive to keep costs down. Expense accounts were often fantastic; a lot of unnecessary "institutional" advertising was in effect paid for by the government; even in collective bargaining, corporation executives often felt that there was not much point in arguing with the unions, since the government would foot the bill. Secretary of the Treasury Snyder has estimated that net receipts from excess-profits taxes in 1940-45 were more than $16 billion. It would be a conservative guess that the government paid out a large part of the $16 billion in higher prices for war goods resulting from the tax itself.

The tax just enacted by Congress raises the regular corporation tax and surtax to 47 per cent and imposes a rate of 30 per cent on excess profits, giving a combined maximum rate of 77 per cent. It is impossible to give an exact simple example because of various special provisions, but it will work out about as follows: If a company has a million-dollar profit subject to normal tax—this is an "earnings credit" computed as 85 per cent of its average profits for the best three of the four years 1946-49—it will pay 47 per cent, or $470,000, on the first million dollars of profit in 1951, and $770,000 on the second million, subject to some slight adjustments. If the profits are over two million, then an over-all limit of 62 per cent tax rate on total profits comes into effect. This over-all limit does cut down the total tax in some cases—it was 80 per cent in World War II—but it remains true that out of every $100 of profit over the earnings credit and up to twice

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the earnings credit, the government will take $77. The profit incentive for economy and efficiency is, to say the least, reduced. Short of total war and more rigid controls of many kinds, a higher rate would almost certainly be self-defeating.

The more liberal provisions of the new bill with respect to small and "growth" companies—especially those making new products—also seem fully justified so long as we want to expand the civilian economy wherever that can be done without interfering with military production.

The use of taxation as an instrument of national economic policy is still far from generally accepted except in times of national emergency, and we have neither experience nor precedents to do a really scientific job. In a democracy, emergency or no, the tax structure will continue to be influenced to a very large extent by the relative political strength of various groups in the population. Nevertheless, the general sense of fairness and the general willingness to pay what taxes are needed constitute one of the finest refutations of those who say democracy won't work. We now have an opportunity to strengthen our defenses through strengthening the tax structure, and to obtain a much wider public understanding of the economic significance of various kinds of taxes.

Taxes are unpleasant, and the temptation to use deficit financing instead is very strong. Perhaps we can resist the temptation if we keep two facts firmly in mind: (1) all military production must come out of total current production, so we cannot postpone the effect on our over-all standard of living; (2) if we fail to provide the money out of current taxes, further inflation is practically inevitable now or later, and that means unearned wealth for a comparatively few people at the expense of the rest.

The Legal Defense of Hated Men

BY G. LOUIS JOUGHIN

THE right of a man charged with a crime to be represented by a lawyer of his own choice and the right of that lawyer to use every legitimate means in fighting for his client without fear of personal penalty lie at the core of the administration of justice. Constitutions and laws, in guaranteeing these rights, merely spell out one of those transcendent principles of civilized living which are vital to the safety of the individual and the health of society. The slightest infringement on these rights, the merest shadow falling on the relationship between a defendant and his counsel, is likely to have catastrophic results.

The bald juxtaposition of certain facts noted in three recent widely reported cases raises the question whether the lawyer-defendant relationship is at present being improperly affected. Harry Bridges has been found guilty of perjury because he denied membership in the Communist Party; two of his attorneys are adjudged to be in contempt of court. The eleven Communist Party leaders stand convicted of seditious activities; the five defense lawyers are in contempt. Six men convicted of murder in New Jersey engaged new counsel supplied by the Civil Rights Congress—an organization on the Attorney General's list; these lawyers were ordered to withdraw. In the Bridges case and that of the Eleven the lawyers face jail and disbarment.

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Has the fact that these defendants or their supporters are tainted with communism any bearing upon the punishments or disabilities which their counsel have suffered? If there is a causal connection, does it mean that the constitutional rights of the defendants have been injured, or that the function of the legal profession has been impaired? What are the facts, what is a responsible opinion, what are the implications for the future?

Immediately after the conviction of the eleven Communist leaders Judge Medina cited the five defense counsel and imposed jail sentences. He supported his action by reference to the record, where he found that these lawyers had (1) ignored warnings as to improper procedure, (2) insisted on multiple objections to rulings, although notice had been given that single objections would cover the rights of all defendants, (3) engaged in unsubstantial arguments, (4) disregarded the rules of evidence, (5) sought adverse rulings, (6) accused the court of playing to the newspapers, (7) accused the court and the prosecution of connivance, (8) accused the court of race prejudice, (9) charged the court with prejudice, partiality, and corruption, (10) urged each other to badger the court, (11) offered insolent and sarcastic remarks, (12) indulged in shouting, sneering, and snickering, and (13) practiced generally provocative behavior. Undoubtedly such conduct merits a citation for contempt.

On appeal the Circuit Court bench consisted of Judges Augustus N. Hand, Jerome N. Frank, and

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Charles E. Clark; they gave their decision on April 5, 1950. The main issue was simply disposed of. Judge Hand wrote: ". . . when counsel differ as to the rulings of a judge they acquire no privilege to charge him with bad faith and misconduct . . . their only remedy is by an appeal." Judge Frank compared the conduct of the lawyers to "assaulting the pilot of an airplane in flight, or turning out the lights during a surgical operation." Judges Hand and Frank voted to sustain the conviction.

Interest centered in the question whether the contempt procedure had been properly handled. Judge Medina had merely warned these lawyers of coming punishment at the points in the trial where they offended; the actual citation and sentencing took place months after the first breach of the legal peace. The majority of the Circuit Court found no defect in this, but Judge Clark cast a dissenting vote. He held that the postponement of punishment was incompatible with the essential nature of summary contempt action, and that these lawyers were therefore entitled to a hearing: "Summary punishment for contempt is not a right of the judge the exercise of which he may postpone. . . . When the need for this drastic action passes, the power so to act also passes."

Judge Medina's citation emphasized the fact of "conspiracy" among the defense counsel, and the record certainly appears to support the charge. If ever a group of men gave indications of an agreement to get themselves into hot water, it was done by the Eleven and their lawyers. One need not ask whether it was a conspiracy of reasoned propaganda action or a psychopathic desire for martyrdom. Nevertheless, Judges Frank and Clark made up a majority which held that the intent of conspiracy was not inevitably established by the nature of the contemptuous acts, and that conspiracy would have to be proved at a trial or hearing.

Nine days after the Circuit Court decision, the Bar Association of New York City, an organization of great influence, began disbarment proceedings against Sacher and Isserman, the two lawyers who practice in New York. These lawyers were then drawing up appeals for their clients and handling one of the most voluminous records in American legal history; they also had to prepare further appeals in their own contempt case. Attacking their right to practice at a time when they were burdened with such heavy labor does not seem fair play, and taking this step while their own and their clients' cases were still before the courts could be called out of order. This appears to be the view of District Court Judge Carroll C. Hicks, who on November 15 ordered that the federal-court disbarment hearings be postponed until December 20, two weeks after the date on which Sacher and Isserman were to argue their clients' appeal before the Supreme Court.

Nor was this all. A group of fifteen lawyers circulated cards among the profession asking for support of the view that disbarment proceedings should await the end of court action. These fifteen, in their turn, have been charged with misconduct by other lawyers, and the Bar Association has been asked to look into the matter. Although nothing may come of this particular complaint, it shows how a punitive spirit can grow.

IN THE Bridges case Judge George B. Harris sentenced lawyers Vincent Hallinan and James M. MacInnis to jail terms of six and three months, and his action has been upheld by a Circuit Court. Their trial was not as fully reported in the papers, but the record warrants a number of specific conclusions.

Harry Bridges

Hallinan kept trying to drag in the Landis hearing and the Sears examination —earlier phases of Bridges's long court history—despite the ruling of the judge; the lawyer's behavior may have been wrong, but it is interesting to note that the first prosecution witness put on the stand gave evidence which the government itself had abandoned as worthless as far back as 1945. Judge Harris also noted that Hallinan's opening statement was a roaring blast against the character of all the witnesses the government might call; perhaps the only thing to match it in the trial was the quality of some of the prosecution witnesses—opportunists, informers at $25 a day, and perjurers, one of whom brazenly confessed his lies in open court.

"Vile and contemptible language" was Judge Harris's description of some of the defense counsel's remarks. But MacInnis pointed out that "not a word of reproof passed your lips when the special prosecutor referred to the defendants as 'rats' and to Mr. Hallinan as 'a goat.' "

On another occasion MacInnis said, "You ought to be ashamed of yourself, Judge"—not at all a proper remark for counsel to make but somewhat excused perhaps by the fact that the rebuke appears to have been prompted by what may conceivably be prejudicial error. A character witness, a Catholic priest, had testified to his extensive acquaintance with Bridges and the longshoremen, and to his certainty that the defendant was not a Communist. At one point Judge Harris took over the

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questioning of the witness, asked about his memory and whether he had undergone recent medical treatment. The court later announced that it had in no way intended to reflect upon the capacity of the witness, but this disclaimer is totally irrelevant. The point in question is the effect of such questions on the jurors.

Apparently a coarse, rowdy defense was conducted in such a way as to create contempt of court. But a vindictive prosecution, supported by several low-grade witnesses, and a courtroom presided over by a quick-tempered and sarcastic judge make up the other side of the picture. Perhaps the common man would be willing to call it a draw.

THE case of the Trenton Six became news when they were convicted of first-degree murder in 1948. They were tried before Judge Charles Hutchison of Mercer County, New Jersey. The capable defense lawyers at this first trial say that its conduct was eminently fair but shot through with legal error. In January, 1949, new counsel was added to assist on appeal at the expense of the Civil Rights Congress, the chief of them being O. John Rogge. The New Jersey Supreme Court permitted these out-of-state lawyers to enter the case but within a very short time became displeased with public statements by Rogge and declared that lawyers in an active case should express their views only in the courtroom and through briefs. On one occasion the New Jersey Supreme Court even summoned Mr. Rogge before the full bench, where Chief Justice Vanderbilt demanded an apology. The lawyer refused, and the judges took no action.

Six months later the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled unanimously that a new trial must be held, finding three serious legal errors and a potential fourth; the onus for the defective trial fell heavily on Judge Hutchison. Then, in December, 1949, as the date for a new trial drew near, Judge Hutchison refused to allow Rogge and his associates to appear: he said they had spoken in public and distorted the facts, and that some of the money collected for the Trenton Six seemed to be going to the defense of the Communist leaders. In July, 1950, a federal Circuit Court of Appeals upset Judge Hutchison's veto, ruling that "admission [of the lawyers in this case] is for the entire 'cause,' and counsel so admitted in a capital case cannot be arbitrarily and capriciously removed without depriving their clients of rights conferred by the Constitution." On November 9 this phase of the Trenton case was ended by the voluntary withdrawal of Mr. Rogge.

The exasperation of New Jersey courts, lawyers, and taxpayers—Mercer County is reported already to have spent $70,000 on the case—is understandable, but it does not justify placing restrictions of dubious validity on lawyers, and it is certainly no ground for taking from defendants their vested interest in informed counsel. Jerseyites would do well to take a more positive stand; more capable judges should be got for the trial of murder cases; thought should be given to the six men who have been in jail for more than two years and have not yet had a workmanlike trial.

THE question before us is a simple one: does the fact of Communist taint in a defendant or his supporters lead to trouble for his lawyer and thereby affect the fairness of the whole judicial proceeding? Apparently, although the question is simple, the answer must be complicated, because the social conflict involved is in an early and amorphous stage. It may even be a hopeful sign that we are forced to draw not one but four conclusions:

1. *There is at present no planned, institutionalized pressure upon lawyers who defend unpopular clients.* In the all-important case of the Eleven the judge who took the original punitive action was objective in his view and fair in his attitude; the Circuit Court went farther and threw out the conspiracy count. In the case of the Trenton Six a Circuit Court overruled the authoritarian action of the trial judge. These two cases offer no evidence of judges or courts leagued in hostile act or spirit against counsel or defendants.

2. *There is evidence that animosity toward Communists has affected individual court proceedings and upset the balance of some groups of lawyers.* The New York City Bar Association seems to be in a hurry to punish. In and out of Congress an attack is shaping up against the National Lawyers Guild. In the Bridges case, although the defense was disorderly, the prosecution was equally unpalatable, and it is not hard to see where the sympathies of the judge lay. As for the Trenton Six, a bad mistake was corrected, but only after the expense and considerable effort of an appeal to a federal Circuit Court.

These unorganized displays of animosity toward Communists by courts and bar associations are not as numerous or serious as those in the press and the legislatures. But the slightest sign of the red-baiting spirit among men dedicated to serving justice is a danger signal of the first order.

3. *There is need for sharp attack upon proceedings in which the unpopularity of a defendant or cause has been allowed to affect improperly the course of justice.* The Bridges case suggests the desirability of sending informed criticism of courts and prosecutors to the appropriate judiciary committee of Congress or the state legislatures.

4. *The American lawyer must be convinced that he has a plain duty to undertake the defense of hated men and causes.* Attorney General McGrath said last September that the very existence of the Committee on the Bill of Rights of the American Bar Association is recognition

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of the fact that "the defense of civil liberties is the task of lawyers everywhere, with special responsibility in the organized bar." But that this challenge is not being met is indicated by the warning of Judge C. E. Clark: "It is no secret that the difficulty of securing counsel to defend adequately unpopular minority groups is great. . . . There may be approaching the dilemma that trial cannot be held without counsel, and yet none can be found for the burdensome job."

This is perhaps the time to remind lawyers that Alexander Hamilton served justice, and made a lot of money, by defending the Tory-loyalists; and that Charles Evans Hughes, Louis Marshall, and Joseph Proskauer did not fall back into obscurity after their work on behalf of the Socialist victims of the Lusk committee. Furthermore, there is the compulsion of self-interest: if the defense of abhorred defendants is left to lawyers who do not respect the canon of ethics, the whole bar suffers in its reputation.

Although we are not, as yet, confronted with organized or endemic subversion of the legal rights of hated men, it is beginning to look very much as if that were in the period of incubation. It is now, before leadership in oppression emerges, that we must assert again and again the right of every defendant, whoever he may be, to a just trial under the law.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Britain's Shaky Comeback

WHEN the cartoon on the following page arrived at *The Nation* office, I thought of abandoning plans for writing a piece about British economic developments during 1950 and prospects for 1951. For Low had summed up the situation so brilliantly that further comment appeared almost superfluous. However, on second thought I decided that some detailed information supplementing the picture might prove of interest.

In the first place we may consider how far the patient has recovered and the treatment to which he has responded. The most dramatic proof of his convalescence, of course, has been his ability to discard, at least for a time, the crutch of Marshall aid. That was made possible by the tremendous improvement in the international trading position of both Britain and the sterling area as a whole, which in turn rapidly replenished the gold and dollar reserves. By September 30 these reserves had advanced to $2,756,000,000, or practically double their total a year earlier, just after devaluation. A further important gain was undoubtedly registered in the past three months, and the December 31 figure, which will probably be published before this article is in print, is expected to be at least $3,000,000,000.

It is necessary to emphasize, however, that a considerable part of this improvement has been, in a sense, fortuitous. It is a direct consequence of the Korean war and the rearmament programs of the United States and its allies, which have created a sellers' market for raw materials. Sterling-area countries produce most of the tin, rubber, wool, jute, and cocoa entering into world commerce, as well as important quantities of copper, lead, zinc, chrome, manganese, asbestos, and other strategic minerals, and in the past six months they have been selling heavy volumes of these commodities at enhanced prices. As a result they have earned large sums in dollars, which have helped to swell the reserves held by Britain for the whole sterling area.

Gratifying as the increase in reserves is, it also creates problems, for in so far as Britain is unable to ship to the sterling-area countries goods equivalent to the dollars received from them it must add to its indebtedness. And as Low indicates, the burden of the sterling debts accumulated during the last war remains a crippling one. During the past five years a part of these debts has been liquidated, but the total is now increasing rather rapidly. That is one reason why Britain must keep up its exports, for that is the only way it can both satisfy its creditors and pay for goods currently imported. Unfortunately there is direct competition between rearmament and exports, both being heavily dependent on the engineering industries and both calling for raw materials the supply of which is becoming increasingly short.

Ever since the war the expansion of exports has, of course, been one of Britain's major objectives, and very striking successes in this field have been achieved. In 1950 progress was even greater than in earlier years, and in addition there was a marked growth in "invisible exports"—earnings from shipping, tourists, insurance and financial services, and investments. For the first half of 1950, before there was the special impetus of rearmament, Britain had already an over-all surplus on international account of $145,600,000, which compared with a deficit of $106,400,000 for the whole of 1949. Returns for the full year will not be available

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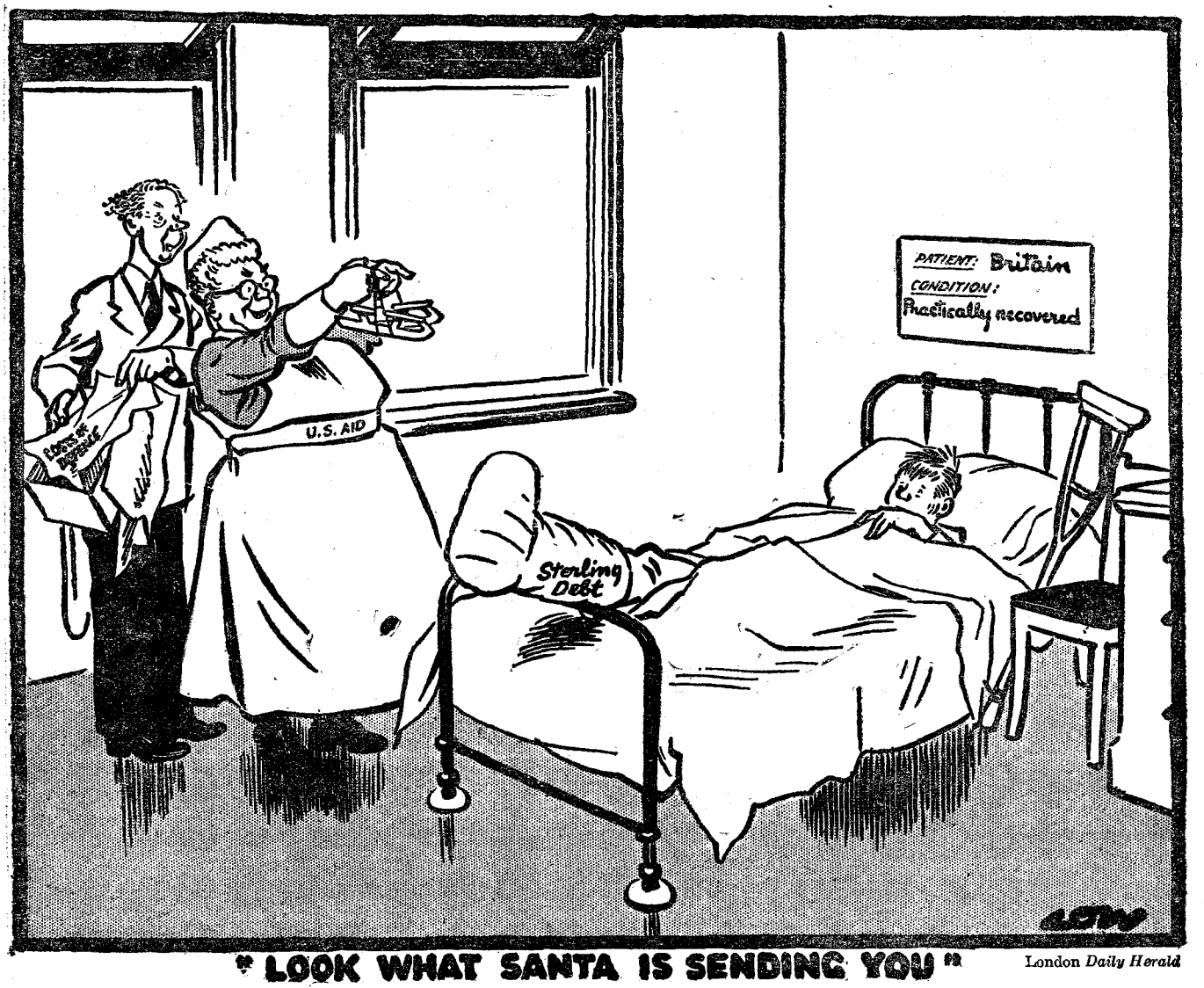
for some time, but Lewis Nettleton, writing in the New York *Times* of December 25, estimated that the total surplus might be as much as $778,000,000, a figure which does not appear to be over-optimistic in the light of October and November exports.

In part this expansion of exports is due to the increased buying power of the raw-material areas, but Britain has also been extending its North American markets, and its sales to the United States and Canada in November were almost double the monthly average of 1949. This suggests that it has been able to keep its prices competitive, and, indeed, since devaluation the campaign of the British government to hold down internal costs has proved remarkably successful. However, the inflationary influence of the rearmament program is now being felt. Rises in raw-material and to a lesser extent in wholesale food prices are gradually pushing up the cost of living, and the pressure for higher wages can no longer be resisted. Recent increases in various industries aggregate $2,100,000 weekly, and many other contracts are being negotiated. Nevertheless, the unions are only making moderate demands. In cotton weaving, an industry which is short of labor and needs to attract more workers, the wage increases granted averaged about 10 per cent, and the advance received by bus drivers and conductors was rather smaller.

But even moderate increases in wages mean an expansion in purchasing power, and with the demands of rearmament tending to reduce the volume of goods available to British consumers, further pressure on prices seems inevitable. Not much can be done to increase output by recruiting more man-power, for Britain has full employment and, in fact, the demands of the armed services are likely to shrink the labor force available to industry. Fortunately, productivity, which has been rising at the rate of nearly 5 per cent annually since 1946, is continuing to improve and should make possible a further expansion in over-all production in 1951.

At best, however, this increase can hardly be great enough to provide for the rearmament program, to swell exports sufficiently to offset the increased cost of raw-material imports, to keep up the high rate of industrial investment on which further improvements in productivity depend, and to maintain living standards. Something will have to give, and it seems certain that



"LOOK WHAT SANTA IS SENDING YOU" London *Daily Herald*

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it is living standards that will suffer, either through a cut in the social services or through new taxes restricting purchasing power.

Thus after suffering austerity for the past twelve years, with only a rather moderate relaxation in the last two or three, Britons are anticipating more of the same. They will no doubt "take it" with resolution, but some of them find it hard to be lectured on the need to restrain their appetites by Americans who have little conception of the meaning of austerity.

Bargain Basement Point Four

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

THE United States has begun to transform its peace economy into an armament economy. Military expenditures, which were about $15 billion in 1950, will be raised to $30 billion or $40 billion in 1951. By the end of 1951 they will probably be $4 billion a month—three times the present figure. However, we shall still have only an armament economy, not a war economy.

During World War II American military expenditures amounted to between $80 billion and $90 billion a year—nearly half the total national income and production. Since our current national income is between $260 billion and $280 billion, proportionate military expenditures would be between $130 billion and $140 billion, or nearly three times the sum contemplated for the end of 1951. In other words, in contrast to the war economy of World War II, in which half of the country's total output went for military purposes, the armament economy will be geared to military expenditures amounting at their peak to only one-sixth of the national income.

The aim of this armament economy is not war. On the contrary, its aim is so to increase the military strength of the United States as to make a military victory for the Soviet bloc more difficult and thus to enhance the chances of peace. The mounting hysteria that has accompanied the sharp rise in military expenditures makes it especially important not to lose sight of this ultimate goal. It must be strongly emphasized that the purpose of rearmament is not chiefly to prepare for war but to promote the chances of peace.

These chances would be better if at the same time we had a continuous foreign policy designed to eliminate the danger of war, or at least to reduce it—that is, to neutralize the explosive elements in critical areas. In this article I will discuss only one of these elements of danger—the abnormally low standard of living, the appalling poverty, in the industrially backward regions of the world. The problem is known; since President Truman's famous speech it has been discussed in innumerable books and articles. Its true proportions, however, are not widely known here. Up to now the United States has spent approximately $40 million for the development of backward countries under Truman's Point 4 program. I shall try to show what a trifling sum this is in relation to other American expenditures and to the needs of the affected countries.

We have been told many times that our struggle against Russia must not be waged on a military plane alone; that we must use political and social weapons; that the conditions which have facilitated Russian expansion must be eliminated. We have been told, but we have failed to respond. To help overcome the poverty in backward countries which paves the way for communism we have spent $40 million—*only one-tenth of one per cent of our military budget.* That is the situation at present, and there is little indication that it will change decisively in the near future.

ON MARCH 31, 1950, before the Korean war began, the President asked Gordon Gray to make a report on this country's foreign economic policies and programs and to add recommendations. At that time Mr. Truman was looking ahead to the period after 1952, when the Marshall Plan, it was believed, was to end. The Gray committee finished its report on November 10, before large-scale Chinese intervention in Korea had started but at a moment when the United States had already moved to set up an armament economy. The report is thus the first document to be made public which analyzes the effects of rearmament on the economy of the United States and also on that of the Atlantic Pact countries and of others which are receiving Marshall Plan aid. In addition, the Gray report makes concrete proposals for expanding the Point 4 program, proposals which go far beyond anything previously envisaged in official or semi-official quarters.

The most progressive document on foreign economic policy that the Truman Administration has published, the report is not likely to find favor with the present majority in Congress. Its positive recommendations concerning Point 4 will almost certainly prove unacceptable.

FRITZ STERNBERG, author of "How to Stop the Russians Without War," will bring out a new book this spring, to be called "Capitalism and Socialism on Trial."

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Let us see what it has to say. It first presents excellent statistics about the world's population, showing the proportion in developed and underdeveloped areas and in Soviet-dominated and "free world" areas. Since the distribution of the world's population on this basis must have a decisive influence on the foreign policy of both the United States and the Soviet Union, the table is herewith reproduced:

DISTRIBUTION OF WORLD POPULATION, 1949

	TOTAL		SOVIET-DOMINATED		FREE WORLD	
	Number (millions)	*Per cent of world population*	*Number (millions)*	*Per cent of world population*	*Number (millions)*	*Per cent of world population*
Underdeveloped areas:						
Latin America ...	157	6.6			157	6.6
Africa	198	8.3			198	8.3
Asia	1,253	52.7	452	19.0	801	33.7
Total	1,608	67.7	452	19.0	1,156	48.7
Developed areas						
United States ...	149	6.3			149	6.3
Canada	14	.6			14	.6
Europe	593	25.0	292	12.3	301	12.7
Oceania	12	.5			12	.5
Total	768	32.4	292	12.3	476	20.0
Total world population: ...	2,376	100.0	744	31.3	1,632	68.7

The salient facts in these statistics are (1) that 744,000,000 people, roughly one-third of the total world population, live in Russia, the Russian bloc, and China; (2) that 1,608,000,000, or 67.7 per cent of the total, live in industrially backward areas—where income statistics show that the standard of living is only from 5 to 10 per cent of the American standard; (3) that 452,000,000 of these 1,608,000,000 people live in China and 801,000,000 in Asia outside of the Soviet Union and China. World history may depend on what the future has in store for these 800,000,000.

Analyzing what private capital has done for the development of backward areas up to now, the Gray report says that in the three years 1947-49 the annual average of all net United States foreign private investment was $800,000,000. Of this, 74 per cent was distributed mainly among the few countries possessing exploitable petroleum resources. "Apart from investment in the petroleum industry, an annual average of only $128,000,000 went into Latin American republics and only $28,000,000 into other underdeveloped areas." This means that if one disregards American oil investments in the Near East, the role of American private capital in the development of the Asiatic areas where these 800,000,000 people live has been practically nil. That was true in the past and is true now. The report states further: "It must be recognized that there are now substantial obstacles to an expansion of such investment. Present international tensions are a controlling deterrent in those areas where an actual military threat exists."

The Gray committee summarized its conclusions about the future of private American investments abroad as follows:

> It seems probable that total American private investment abroad in the next few years will not exceed that 1947-49 average and may fall substantially short of this. Furthermore, only a few hundred million dollars, at most, is likely to be invested in underdeveloped countries outside the Western Hemisphere in properties not related to oil. Taking into account the known obstacles, and the uncertain effectiveness of the limited measures that can be taken to overcome them, it must be frankly recognized that private investment cannot be expected to solve the problem of financing development alone.

Precisely because the military situation is so tense private capital has no intention of running the great risks which such investment would entail. Therefore if any decisive contribution to the development of these areas is to be made in the crucial years ahead, the United States government will have to do it. The Gray report had the courage to state this conclusion with candor.

WE NOW come to the vital question: How much should the United States contribute to the development of the backward areas in the next few years? The Gray report says the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Export-Import Bank "should seek an annual net flow of investment funds in the range of $600,000,000 to $800,000,000 a year." This is a huge sum, especially if it is considered in relation to what has been spent under Point 4 up to now. It is, indeed, twenty times as much. That is why the chances are slight that Congress will carry out the report's recommendations. And yet when this $800,000,000 a year is considered in relation to the tremendous extent and population of the areas in question, it seems a pretty small outlay. If it all went to the underdeveloped areas of Asia, where, as we saw above, there are 800,000,000 people outside of Russia and China, it would mean only *one dollar a person a year*—a mere drop in the bucket.

No one can predict how far the present revolutionary upheavals in Asia will go, for the situation is complicated by the struggle between the two power blocs. The Russians have been trying, so far with great success, to use, and frequently to exploit, the processes of agrarian revolution in Asia in order to enlarge their orbit. The United States has recognized the trend in Asia only to a limited extent; certainly American policy has not been adjusted to it. If the United States wants to utilize its

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immense economic, industrial, and financial strength to gain real influence in Asia, it must recognize the magnitude of the problem. I repeat, $800,000,000 annually is absolutely inadequate for the purpose.

In determining the funds to be spent under Point 4 the United States can consider them in relation to other public expenditures—for rearmament, aid to Europe, and so on—or in relation to Asia's needs and the exigencies of the international situation. The gigantic growth of America's productive potential and actual output give it a chance to exercise decisive influence on the future development of Asia. But it can use its opportunity only if it understands that the funds, and the volume of production, needed must reach proportions far beyond even those which the Gray report ventures to suggest. If the United States wants to assert its economic might to the degree that is necessary to help determine Asia's future, Walter Reuther's proposal of an annual contribution of ten billion dollars is probably more realistic than Mr. Gray's comparatively modest proposals.

What Price Franco?

BY BASIL DAVIDSON

III. Political Balance-Sheet

Madrid, December

AT THE end of his financial tether, Generalissimo Franco was probably nearer to his downfall last autumn than at any other time since he landed from Morocco in 1936. Now that funds are to be available from Washington, however, and that Franco has almost certainly persuaded those on whom he depends that more will be forthcoming as the cold war develops, the dictatorship has recovered a certain measure of stability. If pressure is exerted by those influential Spaniards who dislike or deplore him but do not really want democracy, Franco can now be expected to bill himself for the part of Spain's Mussolini to Don Juan's Victor Emmanuel. Such a "change of regime," needless to say, would be no more than the shadow of a change.

The present stability of the dictatorship, temporary though it is, is due in part to the merciless repression that has continued since the end of the civil war—300 executions were officially admitted in a year as late as 1948. This repression, though less severe and all-embracing at the moment, has destroyed the democratic parties and is still practiced against all who are suspected of trying to bring them to life. Intellectuals, especially, are persecuted, a fact reflected in the decay of the arts in contemporary Spain. While cafe gossip against the regime is tolerated, provided always that those who gossip are reasonably well-dressed—the poor in Spain are automatically suspect—drastic action is taken against all printed criticism, and persons believed to be organizing political opposition of any kind are court-martialed. In this elimination of the democratic parties it must be said that Spanish politicians, by spending more time in internecine quarrels than in united agitation against Franco, have played their part.

Franco's chief support comes of course from the Spanish church and the Vatican, from the army, and from the moneyed interests. The support of the church is by far the most important, for the church works not only upon the masses of the people but also upon the army—not to speak of world opinion. It is the stubborn and aggressive propaganda of the church which has made the Falangist Party machine unnecessary to Franco: unlike the Italian Fascists and the German National Socialists, the Spanish dictatorship has no ideology except that of Catholicism. In this respect the regime seems to me to resemble the hushed but iron tyranny of Metternich's Austria at its worst period far more than it resembles Italy or Germany under their dictators. You find no party slogans painted on walls and very few pictures of the dictator, but you see innumerable priests. For thirty million Spaniards there are thirty thousand parish priests. And there are about ninety thousand policemen. On a quiet Sunday afternoon in the railway station at Cuenca, a little lost provincial town a hundred miles from Madrid, I saw four policemen on the platform, one with a submachine-gun, one with a rifle, and two with revolvers.

The army, believing in eventual American aid, can look for nothing better than it now has. Like the princes of the Spanish church, the generals of Franco's army know that their privileges would be cut by any regime less vainglorious, inefficient, and authoritarian than Franco's. Franco dare not demobilize. Above all, he dare not demobilize the senior officers. They may be badly paid, but they are assured of employment and have unlimited access to graft. I know some good patriots among them who bitterly resent the impoverishment of their country, but these, according to the available evidence,

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BASIL DAVIDSON, staff correspondent of the New Statesman and Nation (*London*) *went to Spain at the request of* The Nation. *This is the last article of his series.*

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are still a small minority. The two or three "strong" generals, like Varela, who might lead a movement against Franco have found themselves carefully isolated from the general current and conduct of affairs.

It is on the moneyed interests, if anywhere among Franco's supporters, that the disastrous economics of dictatorship begin to have their effect. Until now, it is true, the small coterie of bankers and manufacturers who virtually monopolize the industrial activity of Spain have had little to complain of. Like the church and the army, the bankers are afraid that the removal of Franco could only initiate a dreadful slide toward democracy. Enjoying the benefits of high and uncontrolled profits, ample opportunities for tax evasion, extremely low labor costs, and immunity from any form of progressive social legislation, the magnates have found it wise to give Franco their unconditional blessing. "A republic," the managing director of one of Spain's six leading banks remarked to me, "is not compatible with order." The social attitude of the moneyed interests in Spain was well enough revealed, I think, by the shipping merchant of Bilbao who told me, in tones of warm persuasion, that "the working people here are really very well paid." The average daily wage of workers employed by this man comes to the market price of about three pounds of bread—in money terms much less than $1.

Generalissimo Franco

As long as there is a good prospect of increased Western aid, the four pillars of Franco's dictatorship—the bureaucracy, the church, the army, and the moneyed interests—will stand unshaken. The people of Spain may be visibly starving; but as an orange exporter in Valencia explained to me, "they are used to that." What troubles men of property, or many of them, is that they begin to see that Franco's financial lunacy may drag them all down. With or without outside aid, the dictatorship is becoming too expensive for safety, too unstable for comfort. At this point it is enlightening to examine the attitude of the Vatican, which is better informed on Spanish affairs than any other institution or group of people in the world.

Nothing is more suggestive of the regime's hidden instability than the fact that the Vatican continues to reject Franco's demand for a concordat. The republic denounced the old concordat in 1931 and, however hesitantly and ineffectively, was slowly secularizing the public life of Spain. Franco restored full sovereignty to the Spanish church. For that the Vatican is understandably grateful; yet it is careful to note that Franco's dictatorship, like others in recent history, cannot guarantee the succession. It turns, accordingly, a deaf ear to Franco's pleading that Rome bestow on him the same privileges in the nomination of bishops and other church affairs as those traditionally held by the Spanish kings. "The Vatican," declared one observer well qualified to judge, "does not regard this regime as stable."

It is not too much to say that nobody in Spain thinks the regime has more than the most temporary stability. The question is how long the dictator can last—ruling out his death, since Franco is now only sixty and in reasonably good health—for his regime will certainly not survive him. The notion that Franco will be able to hand on the "succession" to another dictator of the same stamp finds, as far as I know, absolutely no credence. Remove Franco, and the whole edifice comes tumbling down.

The answer to this central question depends, of course, on much that happens outside Spain. It depends primarily on Washington and to a lesser extent on London. Financial aid at this time can keep the moneyed interests happy and stave off the final ruin of the country's economy, though it cannot, because of the nature of the regime, make the economy stable or remotely prosperous. Military aid, or the promise of military aid, will keep the generals loyal—all the more because such aid will be taken as a sure sign that World War III is just around the corner. The refusal of financial and military aid will cause both the moneyed interests and the army, and in their wake the church, to cast round for an alternative regime. Even so, they will keep Franco as their "protector" if they possibly can; and in the end only the United States can convince them that a real change must be made.

With the democratic parties so weak and scattered and the misery of the country so abysmal, could a real change bring anything but chaos? To this question there is now no answer, for everything will depend upon the circumstances of the change. Continued support of Franco by the Western powers, quite certainly, spells the eventual collapse of Spain into chaos, for it is the central feature of this vicious regime that it is self-defeating, that under pretense of saving Spain it is in fact steering the country toward a complete moral, social, and economic breakdown. A change in the near future, a change before the sufferings of the people have driven them to an irresponsible desire for revenge, would not mean chaos. I formed the impression that the country is tired of violence and war. The men of the opposition with whom I talked, leaders and rank-and-file, moderate and radical, were unanimous in their hatred of the regime but also in their desire for *peaceful* change. The outcome rests now with the Western powers.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Essays and Asides

A NEW FIVE-FOOT SHELF

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

LAST winter the Columbia University Press's sprightly house organ, *The Pleasures of Publishing*, undertook to select on the basis of a questionnaire sent out only to the literary and the learned the "Ten Most Boring Classics." As might be expected, the response was enthusiastic, and as might also be expected, the final list included those old stand-bys among popular-unpopular words, "The Faerie Queene" and "Pilgrim's Progress." More surprisingly it included also Boswell's "Johnson," as well as several other books which make one wonder whether or not there is any such thing as a book lively enough to overcome the dulness of some readers. The Bible and Shakespeare did not appear among the first ten, but in view of what did, one suspects that a mere failure of nerve was the cause.

Ten or fifteen years ago *The Nation* was guilty of a somewhat similar stunt when it invited subscribers to confess which of the works that everybody has read were still closed books to them. If I remember aright, we had rather a bad conscience about the whole affair because we came to doubt whether, in this case, the confession which is supposedly good for the soul was not more than counterbalanced by the encouragement we appeared to be giving to the philistines. Most of our correspondents seemed to be boasting rather than confessing, and we lost a lot of respect for our readers. Evidently the world is full of people just waiting for an opportunity to display their ignorance or their bad taste, and the Columbia Press seems to be as astonished as we were by the enthusiasm with which their inquiry was answered. According to the latest report, just issued, comment has now appeared in the *Egyptian Gazette* of Cairo and the *Palestine Post* of Jerusalem.

Book reviewers are popularly supposed not to read the books they write about. In fact, Sydney Smith boasted that he never did, because he had found that "it prejudices one so." But apparently prideful non-reading is not confined to professionals. A five-foot shelf of "Great Classics You Won't Want to Read" might sell even better than Dr. Eliot's selection, since its presence in the living-room would not, like a set of the Harvard Classics, constitute a standing reproach to the non-reading owner. He could purchase it in the full, comfortable conviction that he would never feel guilty about not opening the pages. Probably hundreds of people are lying on psychoanalytical couches at this very moment trying to get rid of the inferiority complexes generated by their uneasy realization that they let Dr. Eliot down.

Besides being guaranteed not to foster a sense of guilt, our new shelf might even, by its appeal to pure perversity, get the classics read. Most of the books on Columbia's Most Boring list probably got there because those by whom they were selected did not get around to trying them out until they had been told too often how interesting they were. At least that is a kindly assumption to make; and the method of counter-suggestion does wonders with undergraduates. I never had any success at all with "Lycidas" until I hit upon the device of introducing it by means of Dr. Johnson's famous damnation, which I read with an air of full approval. It is surprising how many students will rise to the bait and grow quite indignant in defense of a poem which would be completely unjustifiable if it were not for one fact—it is supremely beautiful.

To pick up a copy of "Das Kapital" from the open shelves of the Forty-second Street branch of the New York Public Library is an instructive experience. The first twenty-five pages are so soiled and so ragged as to be nearly illegible. The next twenty-five have obviously been fingered a good many times; the next fifty grow progressively cleaner; after page 100 the book is very nearly virgin—if that phrase is permissible. But an important book is not the same thing as a book great in the sense in which most of Columbia's Ten Most Boring are great. For a reason I should prefer not to go into I do not think that the failure ever to have read "Das Kapital" *through* ought to be held against anyone. To find "Moby Dick" dull—and enough people did to put it on the list—calls for a quite different comment, with which Columbia happens, in this case also, to provide me.

The late Professor Raymond Weaver laid the first stone of his fabulous reputation among the students of Columbia College on the occasion of the first quiz which he gave to his very first class just after the First World War, when sophomores were more than usually sophomoric. When the first question went up on the blackboard it was, "Which of the books read so far has interested you least?" and a whistle of joy went up from a group which had been trying to make things hard for a new instructor. After a dramatic pause Weaver wrote the second and last question. It was: "To what defect in yourself do you attribute this lack of interest?"

Duel for the World

THE WORLD IN CRISIS. By J. Salwyn Schapiro. The McGraw-Hill Book Company. $5.

PROFESSOR SCHAPIRO has followed up his penetrating analysis of liberalism and fascism with just the sort of explanatory account of the world crisis that people long for. How did the world get into its present dangerous situation? Why have the settlements of two world wars brought us to the verge of a third one? Can we expect the United Nations to reconcile the antagonism between the Western democracies and the Soviet bloc? The object of "World in Crisis" is to clarify the whole background of these questions and to

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CLIMBING ABOVE THE CAVE

Rock-rung echo, wrung from this moving
Step-quickened speaker, Antaeus-born light,
My cave-crossing shadow, lucky living,
Inverted, vertical, binds in flight
Fossil to wind-flower, stone to air,
The spaceless dead in their speechless rock
To a spirit hung on the windy stair,
Stunned by the dull waves' crash and shock.
Great hollows, then, make the fine strings speak:
"You were born to a musical order, die
To a musical order; seek, then, seek
Notes that were true in the Past."

Here I
Unsheathe a dagger to pierce the sun.
I have trapped the winds, lassooed the sea,
Tread intricately this track where none
Hears what I hear, sees what I see,
All wedges, ledges being betrayed
To the last pressure of foot on stone.
Here time is stopped, and the crouching shade
Knows for an instant the unknown,
How my hand's companion, breaking the crust
Of violent hunters hidden beneath,
Signals an insurrection of dust,
And a mounted skeleton in the teeth
Of the waves and the whirlwind spurs his host
Into thundering seas.

My praying step
Can make rocks fast, uproot the coast,
With the faith of a prophet softly keep
Sea, mountain, and giant air
Dancing, forever changing, born
In a moment, then no longer there,
Lands that a wishbone laughs to scorn
Where the parched flint has eyes.

Yet here
Luminous tides and breeding winds
Tell me suddenly I am near
Darkness, the door of my hidden friends,
Where stone is a fading wonder, moss
A monument; there the glacier thrives
Dropping stalactites' marble gloss,
Quick as a shower of hail where knives,
Edged on the whetstone, turn

For there
Fins cut the surface, flashing free.
Dolphins, leaping to light in air,
Turn, and bound on the wheel of sea.
Wave through the cave-mouth glorious swims,
Gathering from darkness my true day,
Wrenching from rock the eternal limbs
Where the soul's fathers, anchorites, pray.

VERNON WATKINS

stimulate the reader into getting his own bearings.

The book begins by tracing the chief elements of twentieth-century democracy to their origins in nineteenth-century laissez faire. We are apt to believe that unashamed free enterprise, as expressed in Victorian sweated labor and in Commodore Vanderbilt's "I'll do as I please and the public be damned!" is as old as human nature. In reality, laissez faire capitalism is a nineteenth-century product and is only a very short episode in man's long history. The episode had its glittering successes and its abysmal failures. On the one hand it enormously increased the production of material goods and the usefulness of world trade; on the other it produced hideous slums and oppressive colonial empires, besides bringing on the calamitous "bust" that followed every "boom." When the failures became conspicuous, corrective reactions set in, reactions that crystallized into the trade-unionist and socialist movements, and also into the promotion and extension of public education and civil liberty. Since these corrective developments owed much of their dynamism to the social energy capitalism had undoubtedly released, they were counted, strangely enough, among those achievements of the laissez faire age that had raised the prospects of mankind. At the turn of the century the supporters of free enterprise viewed the future with optimism.

In the twentieth century, however, the competitive economy does not make good its own predictions. Despite the miracles of capitalist production, capitalist maldistribution generates slumps at home and wars and revolutions in the colonies. Our author explains how the trade-union and progressive movements expose capitalism's Achilles heel and press for those political and economic reforms that transform the haphazard economy of the laissez faire state into the planned economy of a welfare state. We follow the international drama with a sense of mounting tension. The very failure of capitalism to solve the problem of distribution at home enables it to carry its goods, its technology, its swift communications, and its cultural ideas to the ends of the earth. The result is that at last there is a global recognition of the fact that all nations and colonies are interdependent. For the first time in his-

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tory the dream of a politically united world becomes a practical possibility. Unluckily the hope of world unity under democratic auspices is frustrated by the new and sinister force of totalitarianism.

The word denotes an autocratic use, by a small minority, of all the powers of the state. It signifies a despotism which rejects the essential features of a democratic nation. Three vividly written chapters expound the contrast, besides recounting the Nazi "bid for world dominion," the defeat of Hitler, and Russia's "bid for world revolution," a bid which has split the world in two. A prime objection to Soviet communism is that it is a foreign product. As democrats, we should resist an attempt to impose a Russian way of living upon us, even if it were a superior way. This means that, in the absence of a trustworthy agreement with the Eastern group of nations, the Western group must arm to the teeth for safety's sake. So far our agreement with Schapiro is complete. On the other hand, a faith in democracy involves a faith in tolerance and a recognition that the Russians, like ourselves, have a plan of social betterment for their own people, however ruthlessly they may be carrying it out. Until the die is cast, are we not bound to support that non-Soviet element in the United Nations which believes that we can live peaceably with the Eastern autocracies just as, for centuries, the Christian trading states lived peaceably with Moslem despotisms? Professor Schapiro does not entirely rule out a negotiated settlement. But he puts no trust in Stalin's word. And he holds that Soviet autocracy and the Communist plan of social improvement are merely two aspects of a Kremlin plot to rule the world by force. Here a comment is in order.

If we really desire to strengthen the avowed purposes of the United Nations, we must make a clear distinction between the Soviet Union as a rival world power with legitimate claims, and communism as the religion of the world's neglected people. As a religion, communism cannot be brushed off as the conspiracy of a power-crazed Politburo served by international terrorists and spies. It is a straw clutched at by the most backward, the most exploited, the most forgotten workers everywhere. In short, it is a movement in the minds of men, and it can be overcome only by a movement of a higher moral quality. Atomic bombs and bacterial poisons may crush Soviet Russia. Will they crush the idea that an abundant livelihood must eventually be provided for all? There is but one sure way of defeating communism, and that is to make our social democracy fulfil its promise to conduct our industries and institutions, not for the glory of private wealth, but for the glory of the commonwealth.

The theme of the book is that the hope of the world lies in social democracy under American leadership. The passionate sincerity with which the author hews to this theme and lets the chips fall where they will is precisely the quality that turns a monument of scholarly analysis into a work of living scholarship. With a wide and deep historian's sweep Professor Schapiro covers all the controversial issues of the struggle between communism and democracy and weaves them into a dynamic, evolving world pattern. In a word, the book enables the reader to study the duel between the democratic West and the Communist East in all its origins and developments, and thus provides him with an extremely readable guide through the mazes of a world in crisis.

FELIX GRENDON

Heresies and Hunts

WITCH HUNT: THE REVIVAL OF HERESY. By Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown and Company. $3.50.

CAREY McWILLIAMS'S latest book has the apparent misfortune of making its appearance at a time of extreme national tension, when events in Korea afford a spurious justification for the witch-hunting at home which he exposes, interprets, and decries. This fact may impair the book's reception and diminish its immediate impact, but it cannot impair its validity or diminish its real importance. In terms of the need for what it has to say, "Witch Hunt" has been published at the most opportune possible moment.

It renders three important services. First, it recounts with extraordinary lucidity and force some of the revealing incidents in the contemporary cult of conformity. It presents the story of the "Hollywood ten," for example, with illuminating detail. A major section of

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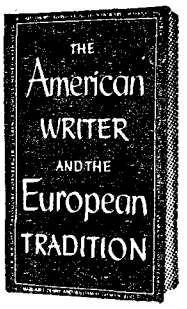

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the book—its most effective—is devoted to an exposition of the decline of intellectual freedom in our institutions of higher learning. In particular, its statement of the issues in the tangled controversy over the non-Communist oath at the University of California and in the dismissal of three professors at the University of Washington seemed to me the most discerning I have seen.

Second, it provides a rounded interpretation in psychological terms of the modern revival of heresy. As Mr. McWilliams employs the term, "heresy is the disposition to be critical of the existing social order in time of storm." The contemporary economic revolution, he argues, resembles that which swept across Europe during the "religious wars," and the current efforts to stamp out "disloyalty" parallel the efforts of the Inquisition to extirpate heresy and the subsequent sixteenth-century persecution of witches. The analogy is, admittedly, not a novel one; but it is painstakingly developed by Mr. McWilliams. One of his essential points is that social unrest is the cause, not the consequence, of present political, as of past religious, heterodoxy; agitators do not create social unrest so much as they are created by it. And it is the fear of change on the part of those in power that leads to the persecution of men on account of their opinions. "The vagueness of the offense and the impossibility of acquittal have always made heresy the perfect political weapon to use in maintaining a social order in which many people have ceased to believe."

Third, the book shows how largely heresy-hunting has grown out of accommodations to it made in the name of expediency. The government's loyalty program, adopted to disarm political opponents who charged that the Administration was infested with Communists, was no doubt intended to protect the reputations of loyal government employees. It operated, however, to establish guilt by association and the use of anonymous informers. Thus it undercut the moral basis of opposition to McCarthyism. Mr. McWilliams has this to say about it in general:

> Every measure taken to suppress heresy—each yielding to the fear of heresy—only augments the fear and arouses further apprehension, which in turn leads to the demand for additional and still more repressive measures. Soon the measures which are proposed—which are in fact demanded—bear no relation whatsoever to any real or imagined risk. Thus a government that launches a heresy prosecution, either from a fear of heresy or to win an election, will eventually discover that the imaginary monsters of error it helped to create have turned into real monsters who are quite capable of destroying the government that brought them into being.

"Witch Hunt" is an angry and uncompromising book. This is not said in disparagement of it. The events it recounts ought to evoke anger, and in the area with which it is concerned, compromise is inevitably corrupting. Mr. McWilliams is quite right to point out that the civil rights of a witch or a Communist are no less important than the civil rights of the patriotic and the orthodox, that "once society starts burning heretics, figuratively or literally, the flames are likely to engulf the whole structure of society." He is quite right, too, that the attack today is aimed only nominally at Communists; it is aimed actually, through them, at freedom and diversity. And because Communists have become "untouchables," protest in their behalf is effectively stifled.

It seems to me, nevertheless, that he fails adequately to take into account the real problems arising from the relationship of American Communists to the Soviet Union. He deplores the undiscriminating assumption that all Communists are necessarily disloyal and "agents of a foreign power." True enough, as he says, the real test of loyalty "can only be found in the attitude, the feelings, the personality, the character of the person involved. This person may be deluded or biased or ignorant; but the test of his loyalty is to be found in *his* feelings, not your feelings or my feelings. To judge his patriotism by some other person's appraisal of what it means to be a Communist is completely fallacious." But Communists, however sincerely or naively, are disloyal in the deepest sense—as many of the anti-Communist extremists are disloyal—to the values which are the genius of American life: they have rejected tolerance and diversity and the concept of government by the uncoerced consent of the governed. And although they may not be conscious Soviet agents, they are tools of Soviet foreign policy; as such they may, under certain not altogether imaginary circumstances, constitute a fifth column too dangerous to be ignored.

Espionage and sabotage are real threats to internal security, however much the fear of them may be exaggerated and exploited for ugly purposes. Advocacy of "disloyal" doctrines is no threat at all. The distinction needs to be kept crystal clear—if only because the heresy hunters strive so to obscure it. Mr. McWilliams himself is sometimes vague on this point. He refers to Judith Coplon, for example, as a heretic; the hue and cry against her undoubtedly stemmed from the supposition, unsupported by any evidence, that she held heretical opinions, but she was prosecuted for an overt violation of law which any government may properly forbid and punish. (The manner in which she was prosecuted was, of course, not proper at all.)

Mr. McWilliams demonstrates brilliantly, however, that the great mass of "trials" and "hearings" and "inquiries" by federal and state un-American activities committees, far from protecting national security, subvert it by diminishing the diversity which is its indispensable source. National unity does not grow out of uniformity; it grows out of resolved conflict. "Witch Hunt" is an exhilarating tonic—not alone for those who would suppress "dangerous thoughts," but even more for those who profess "liberalism" and yet, in the name of national security, would justify resort to test oaths and loyalty clearances and academic purges. Heresy is an invention of the heresy hunters. It is they rather than the heretics who imperil freedom and security alike.

ALAN BARTH

The Road to Freedom

FROM WEALTH TO WELFARE: THE EVOLUTION OF LIBERALISM. By Harry K. Girvetz. Stanford University Press. $5.

IN FULFILMENT of a long-recognized need, here at last, is a scholarly, penetrating, and consistently pertinent analysis of the liberal creed. The first section is devoted to a systematic exploration of the assumptions underlying the classical liberalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the second, to

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a brilliant analysis of the fallacies and inadequacies of these assumptions as revealed, say, after 1870. A third section synthesizes the elements making up contemporary liberalism. Result: the best introduction to liberalism currently available. I say the "best," not because the material is new or the analysis original, but because the treatment throughout is methodical and unflinchingly honest. Terms are carefully defined; assumptions are clearly stated and pressed to logical conclusions; nothing is taken for granted.

Dr. Girvetz puts his finger on the real weakness of liberalism when he refers to "a deep inner conflict in the liberal ideology, which is never successfully reconciled: it is forever torn between degenerating into middle-class apologetics and developing into a creed of emancipation for all mankind." Currently this conflict finds reflection in two opposed factions: the right-wing "liberals"—Herbert Hoover insists that he is liberal—who would use classical liberalism to defend "free enterprise," and the left-wing liberals who see that liberalism leads logically to the welfare state and, beyond welfare, to some form of socialism.

The sad confusion in the ranks of liberals arises largely from the fact that the left wing has permitted the right to pervert the real meaning of the liberal creed, thus discrediting liberalism in the eyes of many potential adherents, while hesitating to expand and define a liberalism capable of coping with contemporary economic realities. Many of the left-wing liberals, as Dr. Girvetz points out, have an ambivalent attitude toward power. They hesitate to use power while there is still time to use it effectively because, misquoting Lord Acton, they fear that all power corrupts. But it is not power *per se* that corrupts: it is irresponsible power. "In the end," writes Dr. Girvetz, "there is only one test by which to determine an excess or a defect of power: does it resolve the needs which called it into being in such a way as to promote human freedom? If power is greater than the situation calls for, it is tyrannical. But if it is less, and this is what is often forgotten, the final result will also be tyranny." Dr. Girvetz properly concludes that the concentration of economic power in the United States truly corrupts, since it is irresponsibly vested and has ceased to promote human freedom. Unfortunately he could not quote the conclusion of the Buchanan committee's Report (October 20, 1950)—that concentrated economic power has now undermined representative government and the two-party system. This is the harsh fact which must be faced by those liberals who, still reluctant to accept socialism as the logical end-product of liberalism, have always relied upon the party system as the most reliable safeguard against the disease and corruption of power.

It is a real pity that a "condensed" version of this book is not likely to appear in the *Reader's Digest* and that no organizations are likely to come forward to distribute thousands of copies at cut-rate prices—as the American Medical Association and the Committee for Constitutional Government distributed copies of John T. Flynn's "The Road Ahead." For Dr. Girvetz has written an excellent answer to Hayek, Stolper, von Mises, and their popularizers—the Flynns, Chamberlains, and Hazlitts.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Books in Brief

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN BUSINESS. By Robert Kinzer and Edward Sagarin. Greenberg. $2.50. Segregation is useful to the Negro business man because it tends to reesrve for him a market in which he has an advantage over his white competitor. The market is limited; the advantage temporary; the only final solution, an integration of the Negro and white economy. Nevertheless, the dilemma is real; the solution slow and difficult. This is the central problem of the Kinzer-Sagarin study—a sober, factual inquiry into the past, present, and probable future of the Negro business man that illuminates an important phase of race relations.

THE GREAT ILLUSION. An Informal History of Prohibition. By Herbert Asbury. Doubleday. $4. Mr. Asbury has written an entertaining account of American drinking habits and temperance movements from the late eighteenth century to the present. Most space is given to the prohibition era, and the details of

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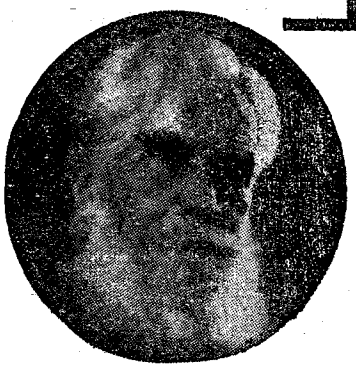

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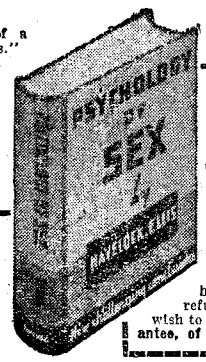

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that nightmare are vividly revived. Even those of us who lived through it can hardly believe that events which we then took with a shrug of the shoulders can really have happened. Probably nothing else—not even our most destructive wars—ever came quite so close to destroying American civilization. Mr. Asbury obviously realizes that fact, but unlike some chroniclers he resists the temptation to paint a flattering picture of the liquor trade, either before or since. That trade, he thinks, learned nothing and may even inspire another noble experiment.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

IN "Second Threshold" (Morosco Theater) Philip Barry was attempting the same sort of tragi-comedy of the soul that T. S. Eliot has given us in "The Cocktail Party."

In this case the drama consists of the struggle for the soul of a highly successful lawyer and public man who is bent on suicide. In readiness, he has divested himself of his worldly responsibilities and portioned out his worldly goods. On another level, in a long-drawn-out process born of an unconscious fear and a conscious contempt of feeling, he has prepared this end by cutting himself off from those he loves. Particularly from his daughter, whom he has loved most and whose love for him, we are led to understand, has been quite as profound. As the play opens, it is revealed that the daughter is following his example—unconsciously and therefore with all the greater energy and precision—and is about to renounce the life of feeling by marrying a man as old as her father and just as "successful."

A young doctor and friend of the family, in love with the daughter, acts as analyst and catalyst, and during the twenty-four hours in which the action takes place, forces the father and daughter to confront—and to save—themselves and each other. There are two minor characters—a pretty young girl who is all but labeled as Unafraid of Emotion and the son of the household, who has found a satisfying way of life in the theater.

A drama of the soul is a very ambitious undertaking. Since its only action is the play of feeling, idea, and language, and these determine as well any other interest it may have, all three must be of a high order of maturity and power. There are shallows and weaknesses in "The Cocktail Party" for all Eliot's poetic genius and skill and wit. And Barry was not Eliot. The situation in "Second Threshold" is authentic and moving, but the play falls pathetically short on all the crucial counts, and the final effect is of a pretentious frame inclosing a quite undistinguished canvas.

As for the play as play: the situation is tardily defined and confused thereafter. The character of the father and the nature of his despair are not sufficiently established in the first scene to carry the burden of the scenes that follow—and, indeed, he never arouses the sympathy he is doubtless entitled to. His relation with his daughter is likewise stated but not realized. As for the resolution, which is presumably due to the subtle workings of love rediscovered and accepted, it is robbed of most of its point by the crude, arbitrary, and quite unbelievable statement of the daughter that if her father commits suicide she will too. This seemed to me to introduce a tone and an approach at odds with the basic temper of the play—and a mixture of modes is observable at other points and in other contexts.

The wit is weak and at times even a little cheap, while the device of the apparition in the garden makes not for atmosphere but for moments of acute embarrassment.

Clive Brook, as the father, is as convincing as his lines permit him to be—though one gets the sense occasionally that he, like the spectator, is a little at sea. Margaret Phillips is a good actress, but she doesn't sound at all like an American girl just out of Bennington, and her speech and manner are consistently brisk, even when the mood of the scene would seem to call for softness. Is this briskness, by the way, supposed to be the sign of an intellectual woman? The acting of Hugh Reilly as the young doctor and finally successful suitor is earnest and rather dull and inexpressive. The absent suitor, I kept thinking, was probably more interesting. Betsy von Furstenberg as the pretty young girl is very pretty indeed, and she carries off with considerable aplomb even

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the business of making up to the father—which is designed, I take it, to be an illustration of youth's dauntless attitude toward emotion, but which I found tasteless and trying.

Films

MANNY FARBER

IN "Ways of Love" three vignettes directed by three top film makers add up to the year's best foreign release. Marcel Pagnol's "Jofroi" is about a senile farmer (Vincent Scotto) who shams suicide thirty times to protect some lovingly nurtured trees. This director feels that there is nothing more delightful than pondering the virtuosity of character actors—earthy types who immobilize the screen with chattered wisdom and time-wasting mannerisms. In Jean Renoir's "A Day in the Country," a pretty Parisian (Sylvia Bataille) is seduced while the camera fastens on the countryside in tender mimicry of Papa Renoir's paintings. As usual Renoir maneuvers his motorless plot into splendid landscape to press home the idea that man is a handsome spot in nature. Rossellini's controversial "The Miracle" is a powerful, messy slab of life, starring Anna Magnani as a talkative idiot made pregnant by a silent stranger she believes to be St. Joseph. Rossellini, thirsting for brutality, filth, misery, attacks his actors with an innocent technique. His people are always sent out to face uncontrollable crowds, unpredictable weather, or unconquerable terrain—victims of a half-written script and a carefree photographer. The effect of this masterpiece is like walking into a hail storm; Magnani's intense, sullen jabbering and gesturing paralyze the brain; the chaotic editing of unbalanced images captures existence in its most unrelated, disheveled state.

"Oliver Twist" is a mood-saturated version of Dickens's novel about slighted childhood, slowed down by a contrived million-dollar reproduction of London's nineteenth-century slums. Replacing adventure with threatening atmosphere, the movie carries its sparrowish waif (John Howard Davies), starved, beaten, corrupted, from workhouse to the underworld of Fagin (Alec Guinness). The actors can barely grimace under mask-like make-up, but Guinness amuses occasionally with some oily virtuosity. Davies runs and fights with a furious talent, and Francis Sullivan works a lot of subtle discomfort into the role of Bumble. The skill of director David Lean ("Great Expectations") comes through in spots that have the traumatic feeling and movement of vivid reality—scenes darting between knees, zooming up with someone's fist as it explodes in Oliver's face, moving with a murderer's gaze the morning after his dark, wild deed. However, Lean's attack on a situation congests and blurs the action by detouring all over the landscape for tricky views. This approach—different from the Hollywood method of gluing the camera to action and getting through it fast—makes an unimportant walk upstairs seem like a detailed report on slum staircasing by an over-zealous building inspector. With unnecessary sadism Lean has built a badly lit film, cluttered and confused with precious effect—filthy dens tattered by expensive arc lighting, Sykes's brutish mugging, sloshing rain—that makes the plot seem ten hours long and anything but absorbing.

"Manon" is a hard-boiled version of Prévost's bedridden novelette, with a creaking, improbable script job waylaying director Georges Clouzot. Manon Lescaut (Cecile Aubrey) is now a baby-faced siren, her incredibly faithful lover is a *maquis* fighter, and their unswerving passion—shared with any willing and wealthy fat man—lights the way from Paris black markets to the sands of Palestine. The cold, frank Clouzot ("The Raven," "Jenny Lamour") is a perverse craftsman who casts incongruous creatures (half-pint Aubrey) and contrives unnecessary obstacles. On a jammed train where there is no room for moving-picture apparatus and crowds are unwieldy, he threads his heroine through every aisle for a masterful analysis of life on the level of canned sardines. In an abandoned farmhouse with no constricting conditions for the director, the impassioned teen-agers neck in the dark, search the rooms with a flashlight that digs the past out of the worn-out décor. Clouzot's best talent is for clawing behind camouflages with a candid camera. He achieves the lonely, unglamorous feeling of a junky movie theater by working only in the basement and manager's office. His detailed pictures of a high-class bordello, a frenzied jive cave, a dress salon, unearth the provocative nuances of its people—usually from the waist down. "Manon" is halted and conventionalized by its hack plotting, enlivened by its ludicrous pornography, and is, otherwise, a painful study of Parisians at their peculiar worst.

As an anti-climax to the Critics' Awards, the following are my choice of the best films that didn't appear on other "Ten Best" lists.

"Union Station." A famous depot kidnapping reenacted by Rudy Mate for all the remembered thrills of a game of hide-and-seek; Mate revives an all but lost film style in which excitement

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springs from the crisp, moving patterns made by players on a carefully controlled surface.

"Mystery Street." Its scientific crime detection makes better use of documentary technique than any other fiction film; an intelligent, unsentimental rendering of American citizenry by Betsy Blair and Bruce Bennett.

"Crisis." Director Richard Brooks's clever, explosive blend of documentary and melodrama casts a revealing light on the inside of a dictator's brain: elegantly acted by Cary Grant.

"Broken Arrow." A preachy western; it shows Director Delmar Daves's unique talent for moving lone figures through dangerous terrain and gaining the suspense of an early Hitchcock without using gimmicks.

"Winchester 73." Anthony Mann's arty western; a striking example of how to humanize an overworked genre with natural dialogue, acting, and a director's original "film eye."

"The Winslow Boy." The best adaptation from the stage. Roughly equal to sitting in a library of thick carpets and padded chairs, reading a familiar, beloved English classic.

"Captain China." The second-best thing for landlubbers who have a desire to experience the sights, skills, and smells of life on a tanker.

"Macbeth." Orson Welles's orgiastic rendering of Shakespeare, co-starring my nephew, Jerry Farber.

CONTRIBUTORS

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH is Brander Matthews professor of dramatic literature at Columbia University.

FELIX GRENDON, novelist and critic, is the author of "No Other Caesar."

VERNON WATKINS is an English poet. His "Selected Poems" were published here in 1948.

ALAN BARTH, editorial writer on the Washington *Post*, is the author of "The Loyalty of Free Men," to be published late this month.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

REHEARING Mozart's Clarinet Concerto K.622 after a number of years I have again been struck by the tranquil lyricism which seems to proceed from some inner serenity in the midst of the harassments and wretchedness of those last months of his life; but I have been more sharply aware this time of the exquisite details—unexpected turns in the progression of melody, with dramatic shifts in tonality—whose mingled loveliness and poignancy are like momentary shadows on the radiance. A Decca LP record (DL-7500) offers a finely integrated performance by Reginald Kell and the Zimbler Sinfonietta, in which Kell plays with his remarkably beautiful tone and his dynamic inflection of phrase which for once he keeps under control.

Despite the inevitable lovely details Mozart's Adagio K.261 and Rondo K.373 are, for me, among his less consequential pieces. They are well played by Milstein with an orchestra under Golschmann on an RCA Victor LP on which they are unsuitably combined with the Glazunov Concerto.

A Vivaldi Violin Concerto in E, a charming work of pastoral character, is on a Cetra-Soria LP (50.022), well played by Armando Gramegna with the orchestra of the Collegium Musicum Italicum under Renato Fasano. With it on the record are the Overture to Vivaldi's "L'Olimpiade"—with characteristically lovely cantilena in the second movement, and a charming finale—well played by the orchestra of Radio Italiana under Mario Rossi; an arrangement of a fine Boccherini Quintet in C for strings, engagingly fresh in procedures and invention, well played under the direction of Carlo Zecchi; and a charming Pastorale from a Boccherini Quintet in D, well played under the direction of Mario Fighera. Surfaces crackle, and there is a recurrent swish at the end of one side.

The beautiful Vivaldi-Bach Concerto in A minor for 4 harpsichords (derived from Vivaldi's Concerto in B minor for 4 violins) gets a stodgy performance under the direction of Anton Heiller by Erna Heiller, Bruno Seidelhofer, Christa Fuhrmann, Kurt Rapf, and the Vienna Chamber Orchestra. On the reverse side of the Haydn Society record (1024) is an equally stodgy performance of Bach's Concerto in C for 3 harpsichords in which, in addition, the polyphonic texture is unclear.

Things to skip are Rubinstein's brashly insensitive (first and last movements) and sentimental (middle movement) performance of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.488 on a Victor LP, and—on London LP's—Curzon's performance of the Tchaikovsky B-flat-minor, full of the excesses traditionally inflicted on Tchaikovsky and on this work in particular; the Ellen Ballon performance of Chopin's dull Concerto No. 2, full of the mannered phrasing traditionally inflicted on Chopin; and the Backhaus performance of Beethoven's Concerto No. 3, insensitive in its treatment of music and instrument.

On three of the sides of a set of 78 rpm records Victor has issued the recording of Dukas's "The Sorcerer's Apprentice" made last year by Toscanini and the N. B. C. Symphony. The performance is slower and more effectively paced than the one he recorded with the New York Philharmonic twenty years ago; it is also a breath-taking exhibition of the conductor's and orchestra's virtuosity; and the effectiveness of the exhibition is largely due to the unprecedented spaciousness, clarity, and beauty of the recorded sound from these records. (Someone commented that when at last Victor learned how to record Toscanini's performances in Studio 8H, N. B. C. took away the studio for television.) On two other sides are the older enchanting performance of Waldteufel's "The Skaters" Waltz; and the remaining side has the trashy "Colas Breugnon" Overture of Khabalevsky.

The Ormandy-Philadelphia Orchestra performance of "The Sorcerer's Apprentice" on a Columbia LP is less good and less well reproduced; and the performance of Debussy's "L'Après-midi d'un faune"—with its constantly changing pace and Kincaid's mannered phrasing—I like no better than when it was issued on 78.

I am obliged to report that Ives's Symphony No. 3, played by the National Gallery Orchestra under Richard Bales (WCFM-LP-1), does not register on my mind as a coherent and meaningful piece of music.

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Letters to the Editors

Anniversary Issue

Dear Sirs: Your symposium "Peace with Russia—Can It Be Negotiated?" is informative and constructive. It is good to have the opinions and suggestions outlined in its articles on the gravest problem that has perplexed our country and the rest of the liberty-loving world since the establishment of our democratic form of government.

Let us not stop praying, working, and hoping for peace—the just and enduring peace we want more than anything else on earth.

May your publication's eighty-five years of labor in freedom's vineyard and humanity's cause go on and on, and may your thought-provoking writings continue as a symbol of a free press in a free nation!

J. HOWARD MC GRATH,
United States Attorney General
Washington, December 18

Dear Sirs: About the Eighty-fifth Anniversary number I can only say: a superb achievement, a very important deed for the United States, the United Nations, and the world; and how dreadfully timely. I have read every word and not least Miss Kirchwey's own somber piece of understatement. I must also mention two of the articles that reach out far beyond our "crisis," yet from the heart of it—those by Abba Eban and Sir Benegal N. Rau. JOHN COLLIER
New York, December 16

Dear Sirs: Without prejudice, may I say that I am in hearty accord with any effort in the direction of peace, and I shall not be stumped by some loss of face and wearing of sackcloth and ashes. May your articles be of some help in a crisis of the most serious import!

FRANK A. RHEA
Boise, Idaho, December 16

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on your anniversary issue. You treat a pungent subject, and your articles will certainly challenge renewed thinking on the most pressing issue before our nation. May this anniversary be a springboard to great years for your publication!

RAYMOND M. VELA
Harrisburg, Pa., December 16

Dear Sirs: Your anniversary issue is full of constructive ideas for our country's welfare. We all know that upon how the conflict between East and West is resolved may depend not only the world's future development but its very survival. And we realize too that few people, regardless of their status, understand what the real issues are. In this number of *The Nation* they are analyzed and clarified in a most luminous way.

LOULA D. LASKER
New York, December 16

Dear Sirs: Your "Peace with Russia" number is by all odds the most serious and the most valuable effort that has been put forth preparatory to a negotiated peace. It has been evident for many months that those in authority have only a slight understanding of a world in flux and revolution and still less of the measures needed to help solve its problems.

But all the fine things said in this Eighty-fifth Anniversary number are really only a beginning. A Congress of the free peoples of the earth should be summoned—to be composed of a highly intelligent group of our own men and women and representatives of other free nations—to explore further those needed ways and means and fundamental principles looking toward world peace. JOSEPH G. MASTERS
Smethport, Pa., December 17

Dear Sirs: I have been reading *The Nation* for fifty-three years. Through long years of residence abroad I always subscribed to it. Thus its opinion-forming climate affected throughout a long life my background of political knowledge and convictions. It also did more than this: its book reviews and articles have through time influenced my reading habits—a fact which in our present time stands me in good stead. However small for the purpose, it gave me a backlog. This anniversary number with its articles and book reviews is a practical stimulus to which we must not fail to respond. The problems are complex; we must work hard to get an intellectual rather than an emotional grasp of them before we can use convictions as a basis for action. H. T. LOWE-PORTER
New York, December 18

Machinery for Peace

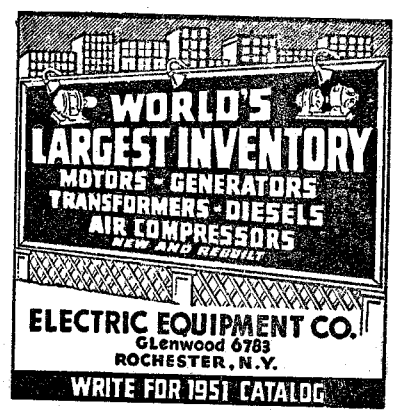
Dear Sirs: Congratulations on your splendid anniversary number. You have performed a magnificent public service which should serve to stimulate wider intelligent discussion of the issue.

I am puzzled by Albert Guérard's scornful dismissal of Grenville Clark's proposed world government limited strictly to war prevention. Mr. Guérard says "such a government would have no appeal and no power. A World Federation must have something constructive to do. The causes of war are not military," etc.

As I understand Mr. Clark's proposals, they would involve equipping the U. N. with governmental powers in a limited field, leaving intact the present international arrangements for dealing with social and economic problems —with the anticipated result that the human family, free at last from the suicidal compulsions of the arms race, could attack the real enemies of mankind—hunger, want, and misery—with the resources now diverted to war.

It may be that the price of unanimous agreement on a scheme for universal enforceable disarmament will be certain guaranties that a huge U. N. program of economic development will be undertaken. It may be that more precise and binding responsibilities will have to be undertaken by the nations to support the F. A. O., W. H. O., and other specialized agencies. But the machinery for tackling these problems is there; it is working well within the limitations of funds now made available. What is lacking is machinery "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

Let us not dismiss Mr. Clark's bril-



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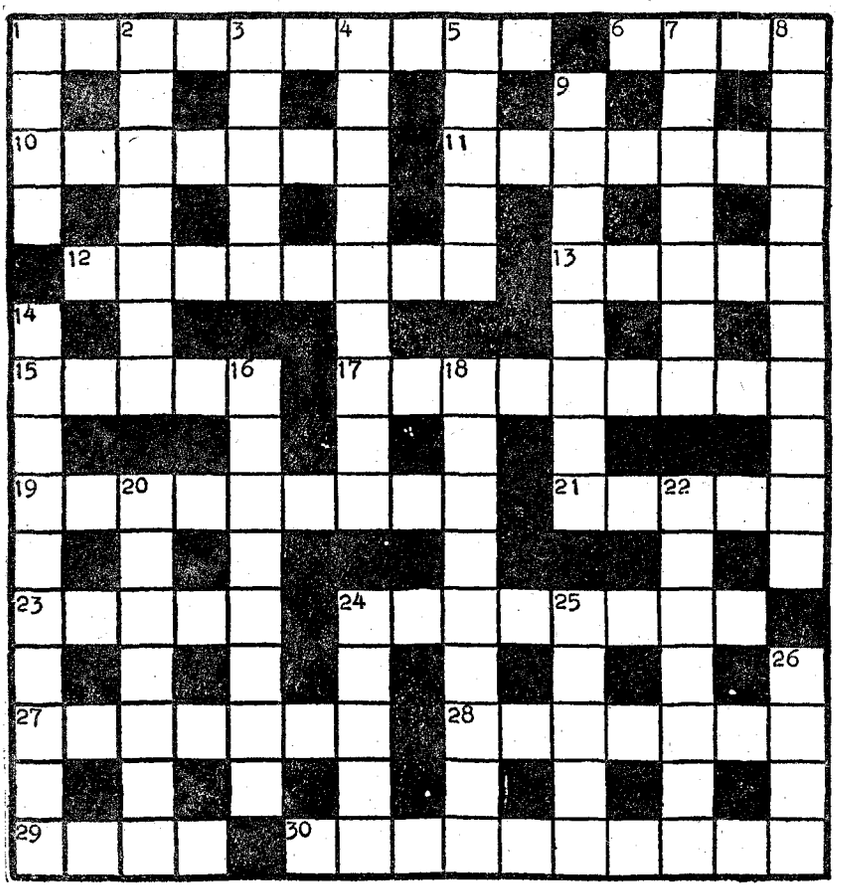
Crossword Puzzle No. 395

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 15.
6 See 23.
10 See 5 down.
11 Cheat. (9)
12 Catty county. (8)
13 First-class art displayed by the crown (5)
15 and 1. May is past, and compels a final privilege. (5, 5, 5)
17 Precious little bit of obscurity connected with the *Black Arrow!* (5, 1'3)
19 He used to knock the devil out of things! (9)
21 and 26. Butter or healthful drink made from it. (5, 4)
23 and 6. Where the investigating committee hopes to find material in good shape. (2, 3, 4)
24 The sewers of Paris? (8)
27 See 28.
28 and 27. Celestial light? (7, 7)
29 It's easy to follow the thread of such a story. (4)
30 The Duke's weight seems to be rising. (10)

DOWN

1 Show apathy in the composition of a poem. (4)
2 Pirating, perhaps, but all in jest. (7)
3 Proverbially a whistle is. (5)
4 Sounds like where one might find exceptional ability! (9)
5 and 10. Minute tapioca? (5, 7)
7 Locale of Eggleston's teacher. (7)
8 Necessary with bikes long before cars got it! (4-6)
9 Pertaining to food regulations. (8)
14 I'm a fairy friend! (10)
16 Parker might hope her car won't be. (8)
18 Legal. (9)
20 More frequently free, not quite different. (7)
22 Pleasant prime minister? (7)
24 Hawthorne's mosses were associated with old but other names. (5)
25 Shoot your small change in coins! (5)
26 See 21.

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 394

ACROSS:—1 SLEIGHT-OF-HAND; 10 HOURI; 11 OPERATORS; 12 DISAGREES; 13 SALVE; 14 *and* 19 HANDSOME IS AS HANDSOME DOES; 22 REAPS; 24 HORSEHIDE; 25 DELIVERER; 26 TRUST; 27 GOLD AND SILVER.

DOWN:—2 LOUISE; 3 ISINGLASS; 4 HOOVER DAM; 5 OMENS; 7 NEOPLASM; 8 SHADE; 9 ASPERSE; 15 ORDER ARMS; 16 ELEMENTAL; 17 CHARADE; 18 INTAGLIO; 20 and 6 FIGUREHEADS; 21 DENTS; 23 SAVED; 24 HURON.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

liant proposals for universal disarmament on the ground that they are not proposals for something else. Let us explore all of our problems, propose solutions for them, and merge the proposals where necessary. James Warburg's analysis in the same issue illustrates this type of approach.

MARGARET W. DUDLEY

Washington, December 15

"Science of Non-Violence"

Dear Sirs: It is safe to say that seldom has a symposium contained so many articles of very high caliber as your recent issue on "Peace with Russia." The answer to the question you pose as to whether such a peace can be negotiated appears to be that in the abstract or in theory it is possible, but that in terms of political and moral realism it is all but impossible. It is creditable rather than discreditable that most of the writers stated so clearly and honestly the factors which point to this unpalatable conclusion. Not least creditable is Miss Kirchwey's own warning that unless the true "meaning of Korea" is soon understood by the West and by America in particular, "the end of the U. N. is in sight."

Yet it seems to me that the true conclusion from the facts set forth is not drawn. To cite Miss Kirchwey's excellent analysis again, "we must become . . . the new sponsor of revolution." The American regime is "an instrument of counter-revolution" abroad and includes among its defenders "a shoddy left-over like Chiang Kai-shek or the German generals," not to mention Franco, because it is itself now non-revolutionary and increasingly anti-revolutionary. Is it not necessary for American liberals, progressives, Socialists, and laborites to face the fact that such a regime will pay little if any heed to their verbal criticisms of its reactionary foreign policy if it can always count on them in the show-down to "go along" with the military implementation of that policy?

It is suggested, if I read correctly, that if the United States put itself at the head of the revolution, the "free world" would possess enough power, including military, to "deal on equal terms with Russia." But where is the United States going to get the material means and the moral steam to do more than piddle along with a Point Four program if it must stay in the arms race with the Communist bloc? And just how will atomic and biological weapons in the hands of either the Pentagon or the Kremlin prove an instrument of revolu-

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tion? The means and the end may not be identical in an arithmetical sense, but neither can they be divorced from each other so absolutely as to make it possible to generate the social revolution out of atomic war. The only genuine revolution under modern conditions is a non-violent one. Gandhi always insisted that his "science of non-violence" could also be developed "by a strong nation like America." To this task progressives should resolutely address themselves. A. J. MUSTE

New York, December 19

Gleam of Sanity

Dear Sirs: As a member of the British Labor Party I am perturbed by two outstanding features of the current political scene in the United States: first, the ever-growing hysteria of witch-hunting and McCarthyism and, second, the virtual paralysis of any protest movement on the left. Symptomatic of both is Louis Jay Herman's attack on the *Monthly Review* in the letter columns of your December 23 issue.

I have read all the issues of the *Monthly Review* since June, 1950, and I find a strange contradiction between the actual views of the magazine and Mr. Herman's interpretation of them. It is certainly true that the *Monthly Review* has not jumped on the "let's drop the bomb now" bandwagon. It is engaged in the more difficult task of evaluating the basic political, social, and economic problems of our age. At a time when such analysis is urgently needed and significantly disappearing from the American press, it is criminally perverted to use the red scare to stifle one of the few gleams of sanity in the United States. To destroy the *Monthly Review* as Seldes's *In Fact* was destroyed would be to threaten *The Nation*, the *New Republic*, and the other small voices in a vast wilderness. Reading the *Monthly Review* gives an understanding of current affairs that vigorously complements, at monthly intervals, the job done weekly by *The Nation*.

JOHN NAAR

New York, December 26

Hardly Socialist

Dear Sirs: Paul M. Sweezy's reference (*The Nation*, November 11) to his publication *Monthly Review* as an "independent socialist" magazine was quite amusing, for *Monthly Review* is scarcely independent of the official Moscow line on world affairs, and it equates socialism with the imperialist totalitarian regime that oppresses the people of Russia.

In the year and a half of its existence the *Monthly Review* has not had a single article by anyone who is or ever has been part of the American Socialist movement. Those connected with the magazine have either been outright Stalinists or devoted fellow-travelers.

The problem of the truly left of center—which means democratic—publications is worse than that of the Stalinist press: witness the disappearance over the years, mainly for financial reasons, of the *American Socialist Quarterly*, the *Modern Monthly*, and more recently, *Politics* and the *Modern Review*.

Readers of *The Nation* who may be interested in reading a Socialist, as well as liberal, magazine still have the *Call* to turn to. ROY HELFGOTT

Brooklyn, N. Y., December 20

Correction

Dear Sirs: On receiving your issue of November 25 containing my reply to Clement Greenberg on The European View of American Art, I noted two errors in my article.

The reference to "Ernst's Huboine Naturelle" should have been "Ernst's Histoire Naturelle." The article also stated, "I await Mr. Greenberg's revision of his former judgment in favor of one that I am still waiting for the Picasso of 1928." What I wrote in my manuscript was "1908." The date 1928 was precisely the one Mr. Greenberg had suggested. I fear the altered digit rendered my attempt at a joke meaningless. DAVID SYLVESTER

London, December 17

Illustrations Wanted

Dear Sirs: I have recently completed a history of Utopian communities in America, 1680-1880. This book—entitled "Heavens on Earth"—will be published in the spring of 1951, and I wish to obtain any illustrative material that may exist, as soon as possible.

May I ask anyone who is willing to lend, hire, or sell any prints, portraits, or photographs relating to Shakers, Rappites, New Harmony, Fourier and Fourierism, Brook Farm, Fruitlands, Amana, Oneida, and Icaria to communicate with me at the Turnstile Press, 10 Great Turnstile, London, W. C. 1.?

Every care will be taken of the material submitted. MARK HOLLOWAY

London, December 15

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